

AMERICAN LIBERTIES

AND

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

MORALLY AND POLITICALLY

ILLUSTRATED.

signed by S. B. Treadwell
By S. B. TREADWELL, 1778-18

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

"Misirere civium tuorum." — Pity your countrymen.

"It is a bad cause that will not bear being reasoned upon." — *Henry Clay*.

NEW-YORK:

JOHN S. TAYLOR.

BOSTON: WEEKS, JORDON & Co.

1838.

Gift of
Rev. J. M. Williams '39 O.C.

Entered according to the act of Congress, in the year 1838, by
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DEDICATION.

THE following work is humbly and respectfully dedicated by its author to those of his fellow-countrymen, regardless of name or location, who would be more devoted to the highest and best interests of their whole country, and of *all* their fellow-men, than to pecuniary considerations *alone*, or to mere sect or party, as such *only*.

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THE following is a list of the objections to the discussion of Slavery proposed to be answered ; in doing which, the Constitutional principles of our own free institutions and the fundamental truths of all just government, independent of sect or party, are attempted impartially to be illustrated. It is also conclusively shown, that the slaveholding power in our country, has always been insidiously but rapidly undermining all our institutions : —

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COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE AUTHOR AND PUBLISHER.

TO SEYMOUR B. TREADWELL, ESQ.

SIR :

THE cause of the oppressed is one of deep and thrilling interest to us all as a NATION, and infinitely more so to us as CHRISTIANS. Whatever therefore shall tend to enlighten the mind, and bring it up to vigorous and prompt exertions in urging on the day for the liberation of the CAPTIVE, should be *eagerly sought out and put in requisition.*

On these premises, we lay before you the following proceedings :

At a meeting of the Perinton Anti-Slavery Society convened, I. F. Benedict, Esq., Vice President in the chair, it was unanimously

“ Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to wait on SEYMOUR B. TREADWELL, Esq. and solicit for publication in the several leading Anti-Slavery papers of our land, his ingenious and highly valued address, delivered before its society, at the anniversary, on the fourth day of July, 1837.

“ Believing, dear sir, that your address is eminently calculated to enlighten the mind, and rectify its defects on this momentous subject, we doubt not your warm heart in this cause will prompt you to comply with what we in our instructions are directed to ask, viz., a response on your part, corresponding with the request in the above-mentioned resolution.

With sentiments of esteem and fellowship,

We remain, dear sir, co-workers with you

In pleading the cause of the oppressed.”

ANSON P. BROOKS, }
JUSTUS BEARDSLEY, } *Committee.*

R E P L Y.

It is proper here to say to the above named Committee, and through them to all the individuals composing the respectable

meeting before whom the address alluded to was delivered, that, owing to its length, it was thought not advisable to offer it for publication in the Anti-Slavery Journals.

But by the advices and solicitations of his friends, and from a desire to render himself, if possible, more extensively useful in the cause of the oppressed and his whole beloved country, the author has incorporated its leading principles in the following work, hoping it may be equally acceptable.

S. B. TREADWELL.

P. S. This letter and reply are published in this connexion, as explanatory of some of the views found in this work, and also as an apology due to all interested in the request for the publication of said address, as no direct reply to the request had heretofore been made.

THE following are among some of the letters and notes addressed to the publisher and the author of this volume by gentlemen who have read the work in the manuscript, or in the sheets as they came from the press: —

Rochester, 7th February, 1838.

S. BOUGHTON TREADWELL, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:

I have read a large portion of your manuscript, but have been so pressed by other claims upon my time, that I could not read it all; and return it in the time you set.

I find what I have read full of a good spirit, with many striking, and sound, and useful views; and will thank you to direct that a copy be sent me of the whole work, as soon as it comes from the press, on such terms as apply to others.

Respectfully your obedient servant,

MYRON HOLLEY.

[Since the above was written, considerable additions have been made to this work.]

MR. JOHN S. TAYLOR,

DEAR SIR :

I have perused, with very great satisfaction, a manuscript copy of "American Liberties and American Slavery, by S. B. TREADWELL, Esq.;" a work which I understand you are about to publish.

I believe this book to be peculiarly adapted to disarm existing prejudices, and to confirm in the principles of eternal justice, and true national policy, that portion of our great community whose minds are yet undecided, and consequently open to the plain deductions of sound unsophisticated reason, on the exciting question of Slavery in the United States.

DUNCAN DUNBAR,

Pastor of the McDougal-st. Baptist Church.

New-York, June 4, 1838.

In the above opinion, I most cheerfully concur.

A. LIBOLT, M. D.

New-York, June 4, 1838.

I believe this work will be highly useful.

A. DOOLITTLE, M. D.

New-York, June 5, 1838.

MR. J. S. TAYLOR,

SIR :

I most cheerfully concur in the above recommendations of this valuable work of which you are the PUBLISHER, and would add, that from the very clear and conclusive illustrations of the author, I know of no publication so well calculated to meet all the objections, not only to the *right*, but to the perfect *safety of all concerned, of immediate emancipation*; and also the objections to amply discussing all topics relating both to the liberties and to the slavery of our whole country.

ROBERT SEARS.

NEW-YORK, JUNE 6, 1838.

Rochester, February 26, 1838.

S. B. TREADWELL, ESQ.

SIR :

YOUR work on "Liberty and Slavery" I have carefully read in the manuscript, and highly approve of the manner in which civil, social, and religious rights are therein treated. These topics I think are there impartially and thoroughly discussed, which cannot but render this work valuable to every American citizen, an important auxiliary to the cause of truth, and interesting to all engaged in benefiting mankind.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY C. FRINK.

New-York, June 6, 1838.

MR. J. S. TAYLOR,

SIR :

IN accordance with your request I have examined most of the MS. copy of Mr. S. B. TREADWELL's work on "American Liberties and American Slavery," with more than ordinary satisfaction. The popular manner in which the subject is treated, meets the objector on his own ground, and renders it useful to the removal of the very crude and false ideas entertained by a large class of the American people, on the important subject of Human Rights.

As such, I am happy to recommend this work.

THEODORE WRIGHT,

Pastor of the 1st Coloured Presbyterian Church, N. Y.

I cheerfully concur in the above recommendation.

SAMUEL E. CORNISH,

Editor of the Coloured American, N. Y.

MR. J. S. TAYLOR,

SIR :

I have read with much pleasure, illustrations of "American Liberties and American Slavery, by S. B. TREADWELL, Esq.," of which you are the Publisher. As one of the people, the writer well understands the palseying circumstances attend-

ant on the would-be popular watchmen in authority, whether in the "chair of state," on the "walls of Zion," or in charge of that "life or death," the Press.

Let the people thus awake themselves to watchfulness of the dangers and destiny that bethreaten us, and we will never despair of our republic.

You will please consider me as interested to see that the work circulates among my acquaintances.

NEH. BROWN,
Presby. Clergyman.

New-York, June 6, 1838.

I think the work of Mr. TREADWELL will contribute to the advancement of the cause of liberty, and of social order.

N. E. JOHNSON,
Ed. Evangelist.

New-York, June 6, 1838.

MOBOCRACY.

While in New-York, reading the proof sheets of this volume I received additional and painful confirmation that my humble efforts for the struggling liberties of my country were not uncalled-for.

I allude to the burning of that splendid "TEMPLE OF LIBERTY" the "PENNSYLVANIA HALL," in PHILADELPHIA, by a MOB, on the night of the 18th of May, 1838.

THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.

Page 65, 3d line from the top, for "called for the safety" — read, "called for, for the safety," &c.

" 110, 11th line from the top, for "country" — read, "world."

" 222, 7th line from the top, for "tall sturdy oaks;" read, "tall cedars."

" 226, 14th line from the top, for "snuffeth"— read "puffeth."

" 408, 7th line from the commencement of the Section, should read,
"that while we were not permitted to speak for ourselves, we did
not wish to be free."

P R E F A C E.

THE publication of the following brief replies to forty objections to the discussion of slavery, and remarks upon constitutional liberty of speech and the press upon colonization and the slave laws, was first thought of by the author, through the suggestion of some of his friends, who are also the friends of the oppressed, soon after his first public address on the subject. His object in publishing them in book instead of pamphlet form, was the belief that if they could in any degree be useful in subserving the cause of humanity and his country, they might, through booksellers, obtain a more extensive publicity. It will be readily seen, that throughout these hasty and brief remarks, little more is done than barely to suggest some thoughts upon which others who have more leisure, more patience, and more ability, might improve, for the benefit of their country and their fellow men. It will be seen also, that the opposition to the anti-slavery principles and proceedings of the day, or to immediate emancipation, and the opposition to freely discussing the whole subject of slavery, are considered in these remarks to be entirely identified; as all who are really in favour of fairly and freely discussing any subject, must of course, not only be willing simply, but would be desirous also, and even anxious to hear and to see all sides of it, and to have every possible view of

the whole subject presented, that they might in regard to it, be enabled thereby to judge correctly and impartially. Like an honest and candid juryman, called to judge of important interests between his fellow-men, he would of course desire that all the testimony relevant to the case under consideration, might be adduced.

Though the people did once, from an extraneous and forestalling influence hastily seem to condemn the free discussion of this subject, still it is now confidently believed that the more enlightened part of them at least have seen their error, and are beginning to feel that we might about as well stop the pulsations of life in the human system and say it might yet long survive, as to stop free discussion and the free circulation of intelligence in a free government upon any plausible or party pretext whatever, and expect it could long be a free government still. The human mind, with its irrepressible energies, has well been compared to imprisoned steam: the more it is pressed the higher it rises, until at length, it will, in some way, find vent.

The author of these brief replies does not claim the high honour of presenting more important views on this deeply interesting subject than many others, whose attention was much earlier called to it than his own; but perceiving that the present discussions in the anti-slavery publications are mostly designed, as well as eminently calculated to interest those who have more particularly attended to the progress of the discussions of the subject through its different stages thus far, it was thought that a publication in the form of brief replies to the prevailing objections to the discussion of slavery and immediate emancipation, (though often in themselves,

very trivial ones,) would find favour with some (the arguments being addressed to the plain common sense of all) who should feel disposed, if from no higher motives at first than curiosity, to hear what might be said in answer to the great variety of objections herein considered. The subject is also considered somewhat at length in its political, moral, and social influence upon our own nation and the world.

No apology is here deemed necessary or called for, in this our "*happy land of freedom*," for even the most humble and obscure individual, most freely and fully offering his views to the public, on any and all subjects which he may deem as pertaining to the highest and best interests of his fellow-men and of his country.

The Siamese twins, being coupled together by an inseparable fate, and of course, surrounded at all times by the same circumstances, are always subject to like impressions; and the consequence is, that they are known never to communicate to each other. There will therefore forever remain with them an identity of person; a perfect ONENESS of mind. The important lesson which it is thought might be drawn from this interesting and extraordinary fact, is, the immense advantage to be derived in the common intercourse of civilized life from free discussion, by comparing mind with mind, by interchange of thought and sentiment, that the people may ultimately arrive at correct conclusions on all subjects for the highest possible good of individuals, of communities, and of nations. If, therefore, the views which are found upon the few following pages, are not founded in truth, it is sincerely hoped, that by free and ample discussion, it will be shown for the general good of all

concerned. Should they not prove so to be, on a careful examination, the author would most certainly desire to see them blown aside like chaff before the wind. He does at present feel considerable assurance, that his views in the main, however frankly avowed and plainly expressed, will find a ready and a cordial response in the hearts and the good common sense of at least a respectable portion of his esteemed fellow citizens. On the other hand, he is fully aware of the prejudices and the opposition which his views must meet with, and that too from some, whose good opinion and confidence he would sacrifice much to retain, except the compromise of principle.

The author is the uncompromising advocate for free and lawful discussion in its broadest and most unlimited sense, — that is of our being accountable to constitutional laws only, for its abuse. He considers those who differ with him in opinion, have as good a right to differ and to give *their* reasons for thus differing, as he has to differ from them and to give *his* reasons for the difference. He also believes, that no one should by any means be deterred from publicly discussing a subject, upon which there are a diversity of opinions; for this is the very subject, of all others, that calls loudest for discussion, and which ought most to be discussed. On all subjects upon which there is, and perhaps can be, but one opinion, it is at once obvious that no discussion whatever is called for; and *that* man who waits for a majority of the people to be with him before he will dare grapple with and discuss a subject, is like a cowardly soldier who lags behind his brave and more valiant comrades until the battle is won, and will then “bring up the rear

and shout victory! victory! at the top of his voice." As to this subject being regarded as a political one, in a party sense, so far from it is the fact, that leading party politicians of every name have always been, and, as they treat every other unpopular subject, regardless of abstract right, they are still giving it (as the phrase is) more "kicks than coppers," that it should by no means attach itself either to their persons or to their political party. Like the proud ungenerous man who denied that he ever knew the name of his poor but worthy friend, because his exterior was such as he imagined would not reflect credit upon himself and his family.

The author can truly say, that so far as this subject is concerned, he desires to know no man's party politics, believing that it has nothing to gain but much to lose by an identity with any political party whatever. He fully believes, that if the moral sense of the good people of these United States does not abolish their slavery, that it never will be abolished; and should this prove so, and we remain one people, we are forever destined to be a slave-holding nation.

It may be, however, that should the free discussion of this subject be yet strenuously opposed, or any unwise or despotic attempts at legislation should be made to prevent its farther investigation, the right of petition upon it tyrannically denied, or that reckless mob, or brute force should continue its outrages, ravages, and death, much longer to put it down, that the people, *en masse*, would come forth in their might, if not as abolitionists, yet as the fearless unconquerable advocates of their last hope, the constitutional right of petition, free discussion, and the liberty of the press; and by their

honest defence of these, their great, first and last, Heaven-descended rights, a sympathy between the people and professed abolitionists, might, and probably would, unavoidably be felt, from the fact, that upon some great leading and all-important principles, they would most cordially agree. If we have no particular evidence that one is partial to *us*, still we are prone to regard *him* with at least some favour, who is particularly partial, and doing many kind offices to our best friend.

It is believed, moreover, that most men are already abolitionists in sentiment, and it is hopeful that they will, ere long be, in consistent practice; for even the best principles lying dormant in the human heart, like "*a candle under a bushel*," can be of no service whatever to mankind. To exert a good influence, good principles must be openly avowed and consistently acted upon.

The author desires to make the request of those into whose hands his remarks may chance to fall, that, in the first place, they would grant him a fair constitutional trial; that is, of not being rashly or hastily condemned, "*contrary to law and testimony*," unheard and unconsidered; and that they would not let prejudice prevent them from giving his remarks, at least, a cursory perusal. And if, after having looked impartially at all the facts and arguments he has presented, they cannot yet think with him, that they would still do him the special favour to believe that he has at least *intended* well to his fellow-men and to his country. He could indeed have rejoiced to have seen this all-important subject discussed upon the plan he has proposed, by an abler pen than his own; but he felt unwilling to pass off the stage of life without leaving behind him, at least some humble testimony of

the light in which he regarded this most thrilling subject, both to the philanthropist, the christian, and the patriot, as being entirely identified, as he considers it, with the destinies of millions of his coloured countrymen not only, but with the destinies of his whole beloved country. He has therefore respectfully, briefly submitted his general views upon it to his friends and fellow-citizens, not as unexceptionable in classical correctness, but rather, as the sentiments of his heart. And he is not only *willing*, but greatly *desirous*, that all his fellow-countrymen, and all his fellow men throughout the world, should ever enjoy the same high, underived, and invaluable boon from their Creator, the privilege of thinking and of expressing their thoughts unrestrained in any manner, by the rude and profane hand of tyranny.

How much soever his language in some instances may very possibly grate upon some ears, he has nevertheless endeavoured to bridle his pen, and has not dared to trust himself to speak out the deep indignation of his soul against slavery in all its abominations, (or more strictly slave-holding,) and also against the slave-holder himself, when he knows he should break the accursed yoke from the neck of his fellow man and let him go free.

It would be strange if language might not be found in the following pages, in some instances, even literally to convey a different impression from what was intended; and perhaps in many instances it might easily be made to speak entirely different both from its literal sense and the design of its author. In all this, however, he most cheerfully confides in the good sense and the candour of his reader to put such a construction only, as the

general views of the author would seem to justify. It is confidently believed that no American citizen calling himself a true republican, will take it for granted that no production can possibly be worthy his perusal, because, forsooth, it may not have emanated from some one high up on the list of fame ; for this kind of sycophancy is most certainly derogatory to the true dignity of freemen, for it is only bowing down and doing reverence to **ARISTOCRACY**. When a new work makes its appearance, there is sometimes a certain class, instead of reading it, will quite content themselves by asking the idle questions, *Who* the author is, or *what* he is ; what his religion is ; what his politics are ; where he received his education, &c. &c. All this, too, is considered to be but the effect of a strong predisposition in human nature to *aristocracy* instead of *democracy*.

In reply to any such inquiries, the author would just say in brief, that he professes to be one *of*, and one *with*, the people, — making no extraordinary pretensions to wisdom above his fellow-men ; and also, that he claims to be an *independent* American freeman, and hopes by the favour of Heaven ever to remain so.

And whatever political or religious creed he may be of, or whether learned or unlearned, rich or poor, coloured or uncoloured, he deems it altogether out of place here to obtrude considerations of this nature upon public attention, presuming others, like himself, to be entirely unable to conceive how any of these things, can possibly in the remotest sense, affect an argument or alter a fact which may be found in the following work.

It is supposed to be granted that *all*, honestly in search of truth, are desirous, and also expecting, whenever they

succeed, to behold her disencumbered of incongruous and unseemly appendages, and to embrace her in her native costume ; the irresistibly attractive beauty of simplicity ; ever accompanied with true harmony, elegance, and grandeur.

INTRODUCTION.

MY FRIENDS, — When I was called upon by your committee, to address this meeting on this occasion, I hesitated whether to do it verbally or to commit my views to writing.* Fearing I might omit to state some important facts, I determined within the last few days on the latter. In commencing my remarks, it is proper for me to apprise you that I am not a professional man, and have not therefore been much accustomed to public speaking, and that this is the first time that I have ever attempted to address an audience on this subject. But from my convictions of the great importance of the cause for my fellow men and for my country, I found myself unable to decline an invitation to do so. I have therefore somewhat hastily embodied some facts on this subject which to me appear important for all to know, with such comments upon them as I thought were proper and called for, hoping, although some of the facts and arguments cannot be expected to be new to all of you, that at least some little good may be done towards effecting the peaceful and speedy emancipation of two and a half millions of our long and greatly oppressed fellow beings

* Introduction to the author's address before the anniversary of an Anti-Slavery Society; which address he was invited to give for publication, according to the letter of the committee, and his reply to it as herein prefixed.

and fellow countrymen, in our so much boasted land of "liberty and equal rights." I have myself, as it were, but just emerged from the spell of thick darkness in which I have been so long shrouded in relation to this great and absorbing subject. It can therefore hardly be presumed that I should yet have possessed myself of all the facts and arguments in relation to it, which many others have done, whose eyes have much longer been open to the truth, and whose minds have been more enlightened by it.

And here permit me to say, that my conversion to immediate and universal emancipation of all who are in bonds *without crime*, was not a rash and an inconsiderate matter; for, having long been a member of a COLONIZATION Society, my prepossessions and prejudices were all against immediate abolition. Yet, since the first recollections of my childhood, I have abhorred the oppressor, and sympathized with the oppressed; but being taught to believe that emancipation could never be brought about but by a very slow and almost endless process of colonization, I have remained, like our whole country, saying or doing little or nothing on the whole subject; while slavery in our land has all the while been increasing with most fearful rapidity, and while the north too have been essentially aiding by their votes in adding seven vast slave-states or slave-markets to the original number. But since I have regarded the subject, as I think, in its true light, my surprise and astonishment at my past ignorance of it have increased in a ratio with my knowledge and investigations of slavery itself. And now, instead of wondering at the interest which *some* are manifesting in behalf of the oppressed, I only wonder

that *all* do not feel and manifest, if possible, a hundred-fold more interest, and even enthusiasm, in behalf of the two and a half millions of our own cruelly enslaved countrymen in our own land, and before *our* own eyes, than we ever did for the Poles or the Greeks, for whom our sympathies and our treasures flowed like water.

In the first place, the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society, the anniversary of which the friends of freedom meet this day through the State and the nation to commemorate, are precisely the same as those contained in that immortal Declaration of American Independence, which, when those great first principles of all free government were hung out and proclaimed to the world by our venerable fathers, were at once the rallying point for all the friends of freedom in the land. Nay, more; like the needle to the pole, this magic power readily attracted noble and kindred spirits from other lands than this, who at once rallied around this attractive standard of liberty for which they too with our fathers fought, and bled, and died. Our La Fayette will be for ever gratefully remembered by every true-hearted American, as a most illustrious example of this. I dare not be guilty of the sacrilege of mutilating those ever memorable words, and will therefore give a principal extract of them entire, as we can hardly err in holding them up too frequently in this degenerate age. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That when

any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government ; laying its foundations and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This quotation contains the main principles embraced in that imperishable and heaven-descended chart of human rights.

I shall hereafter endeavour to show, by extracts from the slave laws and by well-founded arguments, that all these glorious principles which have so long been the boast and the just pride of all Americans, (save the poor coloured man,) and which in all countries have ever been the great fear of tyrants and the fond hope of the oppressed, are totally, shamelessly, and wickedly disregarded in our treatment of one-sixth part of our entire population. I shall show that the slave laws do by no means regard the slave as being created equal with his master, possessing rights which are not to be "transferred," or, as being at liberty to pursue his own happiness in his own way. I shall show, too, that the poor slave does in no manner, expressed or implied, give his assent to the cruel and iron laws which are made to govern him, but that they are all against his will, and directly opposed both to his temporal and eternal well-being.

I have said in brief, that the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society are those contained in the Declaration of our Independence ; and the object of the Society, by a concentration of strictly constitutional and moral means only, by a public expression of their sentiments brought to bear upon the minds and consciences of all freemen

in our country, both slaveholders and non-slaveholders, is to resuscitate, cherish, and extend these principles universal and practically. Let these principles, which cover the whole ground of civil liberty, triumph; they would utterly abolish slavery from the abodes of man.

That the institution of slavery is legalized, and thereby attempted to be made respectable in some degree among men, in the eyes of Him who says, "thou shalt not oppress thy fellow," can be of no avail. Who has legalized it? Men might as well, upon the same principle, legalize any other system of abominations and wickedness, such as brothels, &c., upon the plausible and wicked pretext that they were making their victims no worse off, because they were "so poor that they could not take care of themselves." I know very well, that if bodies of men will utterly abandon all the self-evident principles of right, both natural and revealed, in the government of their conduct, set up the base and fallacious doctrine of "expediency," or that "*might is right*," organize themselves into a banditti, and, in open defiance of God and man, make their own laws, they can pretend to regard them as respectable if they will. I suppose that even pirates upon the high seas, whose very trade is rapine and blood, endeavour to compliment themselves that they are the bravest and the most "chivalrous fellows" in the world. Indeed, boasting is known to be a prominent characteristic among this class of outlaws. The more wicked the deed, the more self-complacency must be assumed to soothe that never-ceasing corroding of conscience, whenever the known laws of nature or of revelation are violated.

But are not larger and more powerful communities

of men accountable for their laws and their conduct, in the same sense that bands of robbers and pirates are? And does not God, seeing not as men see, hold entire nations accountable for their conduct and laws? If wicked and oppressive, does he not curse them? If righteous and just, does he not bless them? And while we should ever pray that the poor slave under his cruel chains may be *patient* and wait the appointed time of his deliverance, and that the hard heart of his oppressor should speedily relent that he would voluntarily "let the oppressed go free," nevertheless, the sentiment of the poet drawn from above will forever stand, that

"God hath judgement for the proud,
And justice for th' oppressed."

Says the great statesman, Jefferson, on the subject of American slavery, whose language has been so often quoted both by the divine and the politician, "*I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just.*"

It appears to be an essential part of the government of Heaven over us all, to hold an entire people accountable for the doings of their representatives. And do we not all at least tacitly give our assent to the correctness of this principle in governments, when we are always ready to attach blame to any one who gives his suffrages, without due diligence to know whether it will tend to the public good? And if, through ignorance or from whatever cause, laws shall be enacted which, in their practical bearing or operation, shall be found unjust and unequally oppressive upon one portion of community, has not that same people who made such laws an undoubted right to unmake or repeal them? Nay, more; cannot that oppressed portion *demand* it to be

done without delay, as a matter of *justice* and *right*? And ought not that people to be justly reproached with being guilty of manifest *injustice* and *wrong*, who should *knowingly* withhold this *right*, and thereby compel a portion of the community to bear an unjust and an unequal part of the common burden; for is not all *partial* legislation justly regarded as odious and tyrannical? Do we not admit this principle, in all its length and breadth, in our daily intercourse with our fellow-men?

We would take the high and holy ground, that all nations on earth not only *have* the right, but that they are under the highest possible moral obligation, when they find any of their laws wicked and oppressive, to *exercise* that right in *repealing* them, and in their stead to enact righteous and equal laws for all. But if we live under a government where State rights are so construed as to constitute the states so far independent sovereignties as to entirely paralyze the constitutional power of the general government, then this so called republic or federal government virtually consists of twenty-six independent nations, and in this case the extreme of nullification ought to prevail. We know, however, that it is not so, either according to the spirit, or the plain letter of the constitution of these United States. But when the doctrine is set up and seriously defended, to accomplish mere party or political ends or local objects, by forever conniving at exclusive southern policy, that Congress has no constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories, and to regulate commerce between the States, and consequently to prohibit the interstate slave trade now constantly carried on; consistency blushes and takes

her flight: for who does not know that Congress has long since prohibited the foreign slave traffic? And who ever doubted the constitutional jurisdiction of Congress to do so? But when the abolishment of land as well as water traffic is called for, "Ah," cries the slaveholder and his abettor, "this is unconstitutional!" When men set up such unfounded, unconstitutional pretensions for sinister ends, would not such men, under other circumstances, if found convenient, most likely claim that the general government possessed supreme and unlimited control over all the parts of the republic; and from the same interested motives, by inverting the principle, consolidate the whole into one "*snug monarchy*?" History informs us, in many instances, that there have been men in the world who possessed this magic power of thus "playing with kingdoms at their pleasure." We all hope better things; but we also know that there is, at least, a possibility, nay more, a *probability*, of even all this coming to pass, and that, too, at no very distant day, unless the good people will look well to their own affairs, and not trust them too much to other and irresponsible hands.

These remarks will for ever stand equally applicable to all men in power. Is it asked, are there no men of any political party or creed whatever to be entrusted with the high and sacred responsibilities of administering government? must universal distrust prevail; and can there be no confidence reposed in man? I answer, that a well-informed and virtuous people are the only rulers to be entrusted with a free government; and whenever the people do repose confidence in their servants, called rulers, it should ever be an intelligent,

enlightened confidence, not founded on party grounds, but on the broad patriotic principles of the highest and the universal good of their common country.

Men who administer a free government by delegation from the people, as in the days of Washington, *should*, indeed, be so free from party spirit, so disinterested and patriotic, that they would at once command (as did the venerated father of our country,) the universal esteem and confidence of the whole commonwealth.

But we must regard men of all parties, not so much in the moral light in which we *should* be, as in the moral darkness in which we are — and ever bear in mind that immortal declaration, that “liberty is the price of eternal vigilance.”

To say no more, *that* government by whomsoever administered, which enacts equal and constitutional laws, and shall vindicate and sustain such laws most successfully, as the guardians of all our rights and liberties, will most unquestionably deserve best of every enlightened and virtuous people, and share largest in their affection and confidence.

Wherever in any country it has become no uncommon occurrence for wholesome and good laws to remain a dead letter upon the statute books of the land, unadministered, it has most invariably been found that the liberties of that people have been on the wane, for the very obvious reason that they had been retrograding, either in intelligence or virtue, or both, for, of course, public men in free representative governments, are in most instances but the legitimate, moral, and political offspring of the people. The world is governed too much, has first been the watchword of demagogues

seeking favour of the multitude ; then a loose, vicious, and visionary idea of a licentious and dangerous liberty has prevailed — then an infatuated and an entire recklessness of disposition to throw off the most common restraints of a well regulated civilized community — and finally, general anarchy and misrule — and to this succeeding despotism has finished the dreadful climax of ruin.

If we live under a government where it is neither expedient nor safe to exercise its constitutional functions, then, indeed, it is a most fearful indication that we are already on the very eve of anarchy or revolution. But I am not yet prepared to believe this, for I trust it will yet be seen, that there is sufficient strength of virtue or moral power in the American people, nobly to uphold all the free institutions of their fathers, and to transmit them unimpaired to their children, with the high and sacred injunction, thus to hand them down to their latest posterity.

When I despair of this hope I despair of the world.

Still, we ought ever to remember that there is no inherent strength in the mere abstract form of any government on earth, but that the strength of all human governments lies in the intelligence and virtue of the people who are the administrators of the government. But, even intelligence alone, at the expense of justice and virtue, has ever proved but a calamity to man. We must see this from the fact, that laws which are good in themselves, prove a mere nullity and lure but to ruin, whenever a people are too deficient in enlightened virtue, to demand an intelligent and proper administration of such laws for mutual safety, the establishment of

justice, and for the general well being of community.

Every government of men is intrinsically strong or weak, in proportion as general intelligence and virtue among the people increases or diminishes.

I had supposed I knew my fellow countrymen, and that nothing could induce them to surrender, or to demand of others a surrender of the freedom of opinion ; and I believe it will yet be seen that the American people were taken by surprise by an extraneous and deceptive influence, when they seemed to look quietly on, and witness the lawless outrages upon the sacred right of speech, and the freedom of the press, the very life-guards of liberty itself, and stood by and saw them almost banished from the land, as though they were dangerous and obtrusive enemies, for the people soon discovered that it was their long tried and faithful friends whom they had thus treated — their intelligent and virtuous sympathies are now interested, and they are therefore forthwith hastening to their rescue. They begin to see that whatever loves the abodes of darkness and shrinks its hideous head from investigation and free discussion, they must forever regard as their mortal enemy, a kind of dark and concealed monster, ready, whenever an opportunity occurs, to strike the very vitals of the body politic with its poisonous and deadly fangs.

Though the numerous, reckless, and lawless outrages committed of late upon the freedom of speech and the press in our beloved country, by the practical enemies of rational and constitutional liberty, which have been eagerly translated into every language of Europe, and construed, to our shame, that our country is in a state

of anarchy and dissolution, and exultingly claimed by foreign monarchists and despots as an unanswerable argument against the experiment of free and self government by the people; still let us trust and believe that an enlightened, virtuous, and patriotic people, as we hitherto have been considered to be by the nations of the earth, will yet resolve in the strength of the God of our fathers, and of our father's freedom, to continue free, and that we shall yet rise in the might of our moral power, wipe away the reproach, and nobly redeem our national character from the otherwise eternal disgrace before the whole world. But this never will be done unless universal rational liberty to all in our land, whom God made free, be destined nobly to triumph.

A late European writer, addressing an American, says, "The circumstances of the tragical and unavenged death of Lovejoy, will shock the moral sense of all Europe;" and adds, "that the civil and religious liberty of the human race will essentially suffer, if such deeds much longer continue to be perpetrated in America with impunity."

The freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press, must be fully and rightly understood, and duly appreciated by every people who would be free, and long retain their freedom.

The very fact, that the American constitution guarantees protection to each and to every citizen, while in the lawful exercise of these rights, at once pre-supposes that a variety of conflicting opinions and interests would often exist, wherein the majority from that natural love of unlimited and uninterrupted power might as often be tempted to suppress the sentiments of the minority, if not

strongly constitutionally guarded in the most explicit manner. Wherein would have been the propriety of the constitution, so cautiously and so amply protecting, so far as the strongest and the most explicit language can do it, all the citizens of the United States, in the full exercise of these inalienable and fundamental rights, if those noble, patriotic, and long-sighted framers of the constitution had not wisely and sagaciously foreseen, that even an individual for himself, or for his country, might often have occasion to contend earnestly and manfully for a time, single-handed perchance, in vindication of his opinions, against a surrounding multitude of his fellow citizens, who might perhaps honestly, but erroneously, differ with him in opinion?

The man, then, who presumes to intimate that because a particular community may be opposed awhile to certain opinions, that that community have a right, therefore, by mob law, or by any other law, (which of course must be unconstitutional and an abridgement of the inalienable rights of man,) to forcibly suppress the discussion and the constitutional promulgation of those opinions, most assuredly, not only intimates that he is wiser than the immortal framers of the constitution, that only chart of American liberties, but he is also encouraging the prevalence of a doctrine fraught with imminent danger to the constitution itself, and consequently to his own and to his country's freedom and justly entailing upon himself the well merited imprecations of all posterity.

We have recently heard, with much pain, the names of our venerated, fathers, in their act of throwing the *obnoxious tea overboard*, *profanely* coupled with the late Alton mobocrats that murdered Lovejoy. The com-

parison is both false and impious ! Wendell Phillips, Esqr., at a late meeting in Faneuil Hall in Boston, in an able speech in defence of the constitutional principles and guaranties of the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, by way of repelling the *simpering*, cowardly, and dangerous doctrine, that it is "imprudent" for a freeman, an American citizen, to stand up at all times, and in all places, to defend his constitutional rights, when disputed — said to his vast audience : (to which he found a hearty response) "imagine yourselves present when the first news of Bunker Hill battle reached a New-England town. The tale" said he, "would have run thus: 'The Patriots are routed ; the troops victorious ; Warren lies dead on the field.' With what scorn," the speaker continued, (which elicited tremendous applause throughout that spacious Hall, so long consecrated to liberty,) "would that tory have been received, who should have charged Warren with imprudence ; who should have said, that he was out of place in that battle ; that he died as the "fool dieth?"

"How," exclaimed this eloquent speaker, "would the intimation have been received, that Warren and his associates should have waited a better time ?

"But if success," said he, "be indeed the only criterion of principle and prudence, "*recipe finem*," wait till the end."

When the right itself of the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press shall in any manner be assailed, it is not only the constitutional privilege of every man, most resolutely and vigorously to oppose the rude and treasonable assault, but, it then especially becomes at once his highest and most indispensable duty, as a good

citizen and a patriot, to defend this right, even to the imminent hazard, if necessary, of every thing else which he holds dear, and which this right, and this alone, can protect for himself, for his fireside, and for his country.

This all-important discrimination should then be exercised; that is, that it is not, as some would seem to suppose, some of the *branches, merely*, of the tree of liberty, which are thus profanely attempted to be lopped off by a treasonable hand, but that the axe that moment is being laid at the very root of the tree itself. The most obscure, or the most unpopular individual in community, stands most in need of the lawful and constitutional protection of all his rights. History and biography have most abundantly shown us, that many new systems and new theories, which obscure and unpopular persons have introduced, and for which they have been persecuted, imprisoned, and often put to death, have subsequently proved to be of immense value to the whole world of mankind. Did time and space permit, it would truly be a most delightful employment to cite numerous and striking examples of this kind, both for the rebuke and for the gratitude of man. We see here a reason the most obvious, why truly free governments give rise to far more numerous and important discoveries and improvements, than absolute governments.

Our great constitutional safeguards and precautions show most clearly, that those wise and ever-to-be-remembered sages, from whose magnanimous minds they emanated, well understood what they were doing; and, so far as they could do it by constitutional provisions, were determined to guard and perpetuate the liberties of the American people, so long as they should deserve

them, or, in other language, so long as they possessed sufficient intelligence to understand, and sufficient virtue to insist, to the very last, on the full enjoyment of all those rights, so faithfully constitutionally transmitted to them by their fathers. How devoutly, then, is it to be desired, that the whole American people should be intelligent and virtuous. Indeed, the hope is visionary, for any people to think of long maintaining little else than the mere abstract form of a free government, short of this. But we sometimes hear of prodigal sons, who have proved recreant to all the counsel and inheritance of the best of fathers, and have "straightway spent their substance in riotous living." Shall it, indeed, be so with us as a nation?

But, after all that the combined wisdom of sages can do, by way of constitutional provisions, there can be no such thing as getting along "comfortably in life," or of long sustaining a free government, unless in addition to intelligence, the people, who in all republics must be sovereign, will cheerfully and magnanimously exercise that wholesome and rational spirit of mutual forbearance, and will most cordially extend to their neighbours the unabridged and peaceful enjoyment of these inborn or inalienable rights and immunities, which we are all so ready to claim for ourselves. This would, indeed, be acting upon that great constitutional, as well as revealed golden rule, which is the very foundation of all other rules of right, in heaven or earth, and of all just government among men.

Destroy the foundation, and the whole superstructure at once falls to the ground. So we must see the "conclusion of the whole matter" to be, that our boasted

free institutions, will not, nay, cannot be sustained, only by intelligence and sound and rigid virtue, in the exercise of a healthful Catholic spirit among the great body of the "sovereign people." Who will contribute in this way to the safety and the welfare of his country, and to the wide extension of rational liberty and happiness among all the members of the one great family of man?

Having made these few brief remarks of what I considered the plain, and as one would very naturally think, the indisputable construction of the American constitution, in relation to the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press, you will now allow me to pass on to say, that it does appear to me, aside from all political or party influence, that there can be but one opinion on the subject of Congress possessing undoubted power, as the plain letter and spirit of the constitution *now* are, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all the territories of the United States, and also of prohibiting the inter-state slave traffick, under the constitutional provision, that it should be the duty and the business of the American Congress, to regulate all commercial transactions between the States. Slaves are well known to be claimed, and in all respects considered and treated, by those who tyrannically assume to own them, as articles of commerce merely.

This, of itself, admitting no new slave-markets, would soon do away the great curse of slavery in our whole nation: and the slaveholders know it, which accounts for their extreme sensitiveness whenever this subject is touched; and for their determined effort to prevent, if possible, even the very first approaches to a fair constitutional investigation of the matter.

This, however, only excites the jealousy, and the still further inquiry of every rational, intelligent, and independent freeman. The slaveholder well knows that the abolitionist has planted his foot upon the constitutional and moral power of the nation, and he alternately frowns and trembles. You touch the District of Columbia, and you at once touch the common idol of all *American* slaveholders. They talk about its being an “entering wedge;” but if constitutional, what have *entering wedges* to do with the subject? Indeed, none of the numerous constitutional cords which bind us together as a people, should, for a moment, be suffered to be severed or relaxed, by the ever treacherous hand of “expediency.” But some of our time-serving politicians are all for the constitution, when it suits their purposes, and when not, they are all for “expediency.” Abolitionists consider it both their moral and constitutional privilege, and their bounden duty, to say to slaveholders, and to the world, in plain democratic as well as Christian language, (that is, by calling things by their right names,) that they consider slaveholding a heinous sin — a great moral and political outrage upon the inalienable rights of man, and our great reproach as a people, before heaven, and before the nations of the earth; which ought at once to be repented of, and put away from us forever. But while they do this, they are also among the first and the most uncompromising advocates for the maintenance of the constitution, and the laws of the land; and ask nothing of Congress but the most clearly constitutional action, on the subject of slavery. But they do fearlessly demand of Congress, as did Franklin, Jay, and all their noble associates, to step out to the “*utmost verge of the*

constitution," on this great and sacred subject of human liberty, and the only salvation of our country.

To hold the slaves as *servants* simply, in their respective slave-states, the slaveholders regard, comparatively, an unimportant object.

But to rear human bodies and souls to drive to the far South, and southwestern markets, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, (Texas in covert prospect,) &c., is what they are most unwilling to relinquish. If they did not think this "*entering wedge*" would soon enter into this nefarious business, they would not be so alarmed at its steady but sure approach.

This vast and horrible feature of American slavery, the nation (to its shame be it spoken,) has hitherto not merely basely *tolerated*, but greatly encouraged it also by the addition of seven slave states, while *the foreign traffic it has long since very justly stamped as piracy*. To what does all this amount, but holding out to the whole world the broad black mark of our deep national hypocrisy? Who does not know, also, that the enhancement of the value of domestic slaves, had much to do in this hypocritical prohibition of foreign slaves? The conspicuous part which some leading American domestic slave traffickers took in the matter, shows but too clearly whence it originated. The world has allowed us no national philanthropy in all this, because our subsequent national acts, in constantly annexing new slave states, and all the while selling our fellow-countrymen like beasts of burden, by tens, nay, by hundreds of thousands, have been so glaringly absurd and contradictory. Southern politicians and ambitious demagogues, are still more unwilling than slave-growers and slave-traffickers are, to relinquish the

“institution” of slavery, from the fact, that they make it a vast and unequal engine of political power over the free states, which I will hereafter show by an exhibition of the comparative scales of representation, as exhibited in a late able address of Myron Holley, Esq.

As we sometimes find it from a great variety of the same article, at once to make our selection, so it is with this most prolific subject. From its vastness, and from its various and tremendous bearings upon the positive and relative interests of all concerned, it is truly difficult to condense into a small compass, in a short space of time, sufficient matter to do any thing like justice to the numerous topics and considerations connected with the all-absorbing subjects of American Slavery and American Liberty. I shall therefore endeavour, as well as I can, in the limited space which I have allowed myself, principally to reply very briefly, to some of the most popular and prevailing objections to the free discussion of slavery, and to immediate and unconditional emancipation, without expatriation of all who are innocently in a cruel and wicked bondage; and also to attempt to illustrate the constitutional principles of the right of speech, petition, and the liberty of the press. In the remarks which I may make, I shall consider myself warranted in contemplating every opposer to the most free and unreserved discussion, in all places, of the whole subject of slavery, as being entirely identified with the most direct opposer of the anti-slavery cause itself; and either designedly or virtually, throwing his influence in favour of the perpetuation of slavery; for, how much soever some may tell us they are great advocates for free discussion, I have found, after all, that some of these great advocates for

free inquiry and investigation, make a kind of mental reservation in this matter, and really mean those subjects only which may happen to coincide with their own peculiar notions, interests, or convenience ; and that, if they do not at once manifest symptoms of applying the gag-law by brute force, they will at least look askance at every man who attempts the discussion of any other subject, or in any other manner than that which these "privileged gentlemen" shall condescend to dictate to independent American citizens. It is yet hopeful, that the people in their might and "sovereign capacity," will signally rebuke such petty tyrants in disguise.

SECTION I.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY AT THE NORTH, BECAUSE WE ARE MEDDLING WITH THAT WHICH IS 'NONE OF OUR BUSINESS,' FOR IT IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL."

THIS objector meets the friends of the oppressed, and the friends of the constitution and the laws, on the very threshold, and most rudely accosts them, "enter not into this temple of slavery, for it is holy and forbidden ground," a "patriarchal or domestic institution," long sanctioned by the usages of mankind, and confirmed by the constitution of the government of the country. The man who takes this position, virtually enters his veto upon all anti-slavery proceedings of every kind, Colonization as well as abolition, for surely, if I have a right to discuss slavery in one way, I have an equal right to discuss it in another. Mr. Preston, though a slaveholding senator, faithfully and solemnly warned Mr. Calhoun of the inextricable and endless difficulty into which he (Mr. Calhoun,) was involving the entire slaveholding interest, by his introducing and inviting discussion upon one side, to effect the passage of tyrannical resolutions.

Mr. Preston not being quite so "*fanatical and denunciatory*" as Mr. Calhoun, saw the result more clearly. But in spite of all the advice of cooler heads, with the same kind of tyrannical, headstrong reckless-

ness, as in his nullification mania, when it required President Jackson, with all his firmness and executive power to "*veto*" him; he has occupied much time in eulogizing slavery as the "*best basis of freedom*," before the nation and the world, much to our shame as a people, claiming to have presented to the world a perfect model of a free government. On this subject, (slavery,) he was the great man of the Senate, of 1838, and was permitted to go his own length, and he finally made out one of the most abominable, tyrannical, and grinding systems of oppression and bondage, that ever cursed the earth, to be the very basis of all free institutions, and the only system that can maintain our government by bringing capital, as he says, in effect, to bear hard upon the necks of the labouring class of the whole country, to teach them to know "*their places*" — keep on at work — observe profound silence, and look up to slaveholders and tyrants for instruction and favour; when these task-masters of the labouring class see fit, in their most gracious condescension, to listen to their humble prayers, or to notice their respectful petitions. I will here quote a few of this gentleman's own sentiments, in his own language, which indeed are now rapidly being adopted as the political creed of slaveholders at the South, and their aristocratic abettors at the North, whether political, ecclesiastical, or otherwise, under the wonderfully patriotic, but subtle and dangerous pretext of "*preserving the Union*." First, says Mr. Calhoun, this would-be monarch of nullification memory, "*I regard slavery as the most safe and stable basis of free institutions in the world*." Second, "It is impossible, with us (at the South,) that the conflict can take place between labour

and *capital*, which makes it so difficult to establish and maintain free institutions in all wealthy and highly civilized nations, where such institutions as ours, (slavery) do not exist ;” that is to say, as I clearly understand the gentleman, to hint, that it is so very difficult to maintain *free* governments, short of the capitalists reducing the entire labouring class of the country to absolute slavery, it is of no earthly use to try the experiment any longer, but abandon this puerile mode of self-government by the people, and do the whole business up at once, in the true autocratic style, that tyrants, at least, may then have freedom enough. Again, says this slaveholding monarch, on his fancied iron throne, while passing his enraptured encomiums upon southern institutions, (slave labour) as being far superior to northern ones, (free-labour) “hence the harmony, the union, and stability of that section, (the South) which is rarely disturbed, except through the action of this government.” Who supposes, Mr. Calhoun, that the poor serfs of Russia, loaded down with their heavy chains, would very often disturb the government of the great Czar, with the capital, the persons, and the lives of his vassal subjects in his own hands? This is precisely the doctrine held forth by the Senate of the United States in 1838, with Mr. Calhoun at its head, for American citizens to embrace. But it would be the embrace of death to all their liberties. Our fathers felt that resistance to tyrants was obedience to God.

Could there be a true son of one of the fathers of ’76, whose cheek does not crimson with shame, when he hears of such sentiments being so soon boldly advanced in the senate chamber of this nation ; we should almost think

that dishonoured sire, would rise from his tomb to rebuke, or disown his degenerate and recreant offspring!

Again, here is another sentiment from the same quarter, and of a like character with the others; and if there can be a free labouring man in this whole Union, who is yet allowed to read, to think, and to speak, who does not sensibly feel what it means, it may next be indelibly imprinted into HIS understanding or his *children's*, by the slaveholder's manacles and chains, and by the taskmaster's bloody lash! "It (slavery,) makes that section, (the South,) the balance of the system, (our government) the great conservative power which prevents other portions, (the free-labour states,) *less fortunately constituted, from running into conflict*. In this tendency to conflict in the North, between labour and capital, (says this same slaveholding *republican*,) which is constantly on the increase, the weight of the South has, and will ever be found, on the *conservative* side. This, says Mr. Calhoun, "*is our true national position*." Very true, most noble senator; there are quite a number of *sound-headed*, hard-labouring Yankees of *inflexible principles*, who have for sometime past, seen and deeply deplored "*our true national position*," as having already enslaved and ground down to the earth, the labouring population of one portion of our Union, and now making most rapid strides upon the other. This same man and his associates, through senatorial resolutions and speeches have very artfully invited all the aristocratic influence of all parties, in church and in state, at the North, the East, and the West, to join with the united slaveholding influence of the South, to transform the more "*unfortunate, restless, and troublesome*" free-labour institutions of the free states, into the more

fortunate, quiet, and less troublesome slave-labour institutions at the South.

The brief English of it all is, that the slaveholding politicians of the entire South have said (through Calhoun's and Patton's resolutions and their late senatorial argument) to all the northern aristocrats who will prove recreant to all northern interests and their boasted Jeffersonian democratic principles of equal rights, and help us enslave northern freemen, before northern freemen free our more "*fortunate and quiet slaves*," we southern slaveholders, and you northern aristocrats, will then share all the *black and white* "*bleached or unbleached*" spoils of the vanquished between us in common stock, and revel in our affluence of unrequited toil to our heart's content, "*until our eyes stand out with fatness.*"

The late alarming congressional vote and arguments on this subject most clearly show that we have indeed aristocrats at the north with their eyes wide open, who from unhallowed interest and prejudice, and from that same slaveholding spirit and boundless ambition of holding unconditional dominion over the entire labouring population of the whole country, are already prepared deliberately to enter into this proposed subtle conspiracy against the liberties of the people, and forthwith to christen the conspiracy by the name "*enlarged patriotism*" or "*great love of Union.*" But if I have not hitherto much mistaken the character of the great body of the American people, and especially of the more sound in principle and hardy labouring class; if this most insulting doctrine can only be got fairly before them in due time, they will "*blow it*" farther than ever a slaveholder threatened of "*blowing the Union,*" if a freemen dared

to say a word against slavery. The independent yeomanry of a free country are too much accustomed to hard voluntary service, to be frightened out of their rights when they clearly understand them. Their general motto is "*to ask for nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing wrong.*" But like all others, they are sometimes liable by various forestalling and controlling influences to misunderstand their own most sacred rights.

In addition to all this, and much more that might be cited from the same source, we have of late had abundance of irresistible official testimony from the highest functionaries of the slaveholding states and from all the leading slaveholding politicians, regardless of party, (other than a *slavery* party deceptively called a Union party) that however high and "chivalrous" southern professions may be, that their sentiments as well as their practices are any thing but republican, and also that the proximity of such sentiments have been contaminating to free principles; while slaveholding politicians by the aid of some recreant northern ones have already wrested from northern citizens of this Union their sacred guaranteed right of petition, and are still demanding in clamorous tones that they surrender up to slaveholding power their right of speech, and their right to travel peaceably at the south, if known to hold sentiments unfavourable to slavery; — these same slaveholding politicians are constantly discussing and portraying to the utmost of their abilities, the beauties and advantages of the slave government for all the "labouring class" over all other governments in the world. It renders this kind of government, they say, so "safe, so quiet, so peaceable," and so free. When slaveholders speak of slavery being the best basis

of freedom, they unquestionably must mean, that the *few* have an *unlimited* and an uninterrupted *freedom* to do just as they *please* over the *many*. A very few out of the volumes of these slaveholding sentiments I will here cite from authentic documents.

“Governor Swain of North Carolina says, “the *character* of slavery is not to be *discussed*.” He further says, “we have an indubitable right to demand the free states to suppress such discussions totally and promptly.”

Governor Lynch (a significant name) of Mississippi, holds the same despotic sentiments with Governor Swain; and adds, that “necessity will sometimes prompt a *summary mode of trial and punishment unknown to the law*.”

Governor Lumpkin of Georgia in his message to the Legislature denies the right to discuss the question of slavery. He says, “the weapons of reason and argument are insufficient to put down the discussion; we can therefore hear no argument upon the subject, (slavery) for our opinions are unalterably fixed.”

Governor Tazewell of Virginia holds the same despotic language, and adds, “we have a perfect right to require all the free states to adopt prompt and efficient means to suppress all associations for the discussion of the subject (slavery.)

Duff Green, a leading pro-slavery editor, says, that “slavery must not be discussed;” and adds, “it will not bear discussion.” An honest admission!!! But still the “domestic institution” is profanely hallowed as the best in the world. Put *this* and *that* together, they make the amount of the slaveholder’s logic.

Governor Mc Duffie of South Carolina, in his message to the Legislature, denies the right of discussing

the question of slavery in the genuine chivalrous lynching, slaveholding, despotic spirit, when he says, "I would have those who oppose slavery, if caught within our jurisdiction, "put to death without benefit of clergy;" and calls upon the north to promptly and effectually suppress all discussion on the subject. This is the "gentleman" who predicted the total enslavement of northern freemen in 25 years." — He put the time too long, unless the north awake out of sleep.

Mr. Pinckney, in his speech in Congress in 1836, when speaking of northern people who felt disposed to discuss the question of slavery, says, "*put them down by legislation.*"

Mr. Calhoun, in his despotic mail report, submitted to the Senate of the United States in 1836, expresses the sanguine hope that the free states "will be prompt to suppress the discussion of slavery."

In his famous slaveholding resolutions, in the Senate in 1838, he exhibited the same anti-liberty spirit, and makes the same arrogant and unconstitutional demand of the free states.

Here again we have the slaveholder's kind of republicanism unmasked by Mr. Leigh, in a speech in the Virginia convention of 1829. There must be (says this great republican slaveholder) some peasantry, and as the country fills up, there must be more — that is, men who tend the herds, and dig the soil, who have neither real nor personal capital of their own, and who earn their daily bread from the sweat of their brows. I ask gentlemen to say, (continues this chivalrous republican) whether they believe that those who depend on their daily labour for subsistence, *can* or do, ever enter into political affairs? They never do, he continues,

never will, never can." Ye hardy and intelligent sons of northern freemen, can ye brook such an insult?

Professor Dew of William and Mary college in Virginia, shows how the spirit of slavery in *his* heart has taught him to despise the manual labourer, and the poor man.

He says, "political power at the south (where possession of property is one of the qualifications of voting) is thus *taken from the hands of those who might abuse it*, and placed in the hands of those who are most interested in its judicious exercise. How can *he* get wisdom (inquires this learned slaveholding professor) that holdeth the *plough*, that glorieth in the *goad*, that *driveth oxen*, and is occupied in labours, and *whose talk is of bullocks*? This same slaveholding professor continues—"the day will come when the whole confederacy will regard it (slavery) as the sheet anchor of our liberties." He also, said "that expediency, morality, and religion, alike demand the continuance of slavery." We are proud to say to this ostentatiously literary slaveholder, that we have thousands of freemen in the free states, who, like Washington and a host of others, delight to labour with their own hands, whose knowledge of their country and their government would not suffer by comparison with *his* whose *talk* is of verbs and adverbs, of *hic, hæc, hoc*, &c. and of selling and goading *men* like *bullocks*.

We have another fine specimen of slaveholding republicanism from a late speech of Mr. Pickens of South Carolina. Says this slaveholding "gentleman," (who buys and sells men like cattle,) "I lay down this proposition as universally true, that there is not, nor never was, a society organized under one political system for

a period long enough to constitute an era, where one class would not practically and substantially own another class." For this very reason all freemen must resist the odious and tyrannical doctrine, as for their lives, if they mean long to be freemen indeed."

Says this "gentleman," (whose very trade is to *press men down*,) "*society has not yet been pressed down into its classifications. All society settles down into a classification of capitalists and labourers; the former will own the latter*," says this southern man-buying, man-owning, man selling, and man-chaining "gentleman." Freemen, look at the true slaveholding doctrine in all its abhorrent, odious, and naked deformity!!

Rev. William S. Plumer, a slaveholding divine of Virginia, with his right-hand man, Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, (who says he is a "*gentleman*" and a "*Kentuckian*") is now sanctimoniously engaged in carrying on a pro slavery purifying process in the Presbyterian church, to cleanse her from all anti-slavery pollution, to present her with white robes without spot or blemish. The same distinguished southern professed minister of the gospel, with reputed eminent slaveholding piety, said, doubtless with a true *chivalrous* spirit) "*let them (the abolitionists) understand that they will be caught if they come among us.*" I envy not the northern man his feelings or his present or future honour who can smile, or be secretly gratified at the existence of such doctrine in any part of our land, and more especially at its haughty demand, and constant aggressions upon northern liberties, upon the captivating but most delusive and dangerous pretext of preserving the Union.

Should the northern people tamely submit to this genuine autocratic doctrine, it might indeed "preserve the

Union " in as strong chains, and in the same sense, that the poor slaves are now *preserved*. But the same act that should thus "preserve the Union " would also sign the death-warrant of our own and our children's liberties, as well as to make a dreadful end to the liberties of the whole nation, except the very few, who would indeed enjoy their liberty as they could wish, in revelling in the full fruition of the unrequited toils of the great mass of the vanquished in degraded submission at the footstool of despotic power.

The man who says slaveholders, aristocrats, colonizationists, and all who are hostile to free principles, may, to any extent, *in* Congress and *out* of Congress, commend and eulogize slavery, but that the true and genuine friends of constitutional freedom must "*hands off*," is only saying, Stand by, publican, for I am holier than thou! This noble and liberal-minded objector to anti-slavery discussions, to be at all consistent with himself, should at once serve an injunction upon all agitators of the subject (according to Patton's resolution) in any form or manner, under any circumstances whatever, and make it an offence against the state, worthy of pains, and penalties, and death!! Still he is loud in telling you he is greatly in favour of free discussion. Who would thank one to solicit him freely to discuss a given subject, and then at once tie his hands by such ridiculous, not to say tyrannical, resolutions as Calhoun's late famous senatorial ones for slaveholders and their abettors, in their attempt to call to their aid the constitution of the United States to take from the people the right of speech, petition, and liberty of the press, upon the wonderful pretext that slavery and the Union could be sustained in no other way!! From the amount of time which this great organ of slaveholders and their

northern abettors has consumed in the late Senate, upon eulogizing *slave* government and stigmatizing *free* government, it would really seem that he regards himself as a greatly privileged being, that he alone has the only right to propose all questions and then to discuss them, or rather to eulogize his own favourite schemes in his own despotic and capricious way. The gentleman reminds one of the long-billed stork, so very politely inviting her neighbour fox to dine with her, and to help himself most freely to whatever he liked best out of her long-necked bottle. This *trick* has ever been characteristic of tyrants in the world.

To the shame of human nature, there are also some such specious advocates for free discussion as Mr. Lumpkin of Georgia, a slaveholder, who recently said in the Senate of the United States, in the very midst of his tyrannical effort to pass gag-law resolutions for the people, that "he did not desire to stifle the voice of the people. He was willing that they should be heard!! But the states that had these institutions (man-holding and man-selling) would provide for their own protection, and those who spoke against them would do well *to keep out of their bounds, or they would punish them.*" Keep dark, ye "*dough faces,*" or never venture to be seen in the southern portion of your own country. Now, citizens of our common country, who tamely receive such doctrine as this from any part of this whole land, purchased by the common toils and the best blood of their fathers, and over which the broad and sacred shield of the American constitution is thrown, I cannot but look upon as American citizens ignobly submitting themselves to voluntary degradation, very far beneath their constitutional rights, dignity, or safety.

The southern people travel at the north, and speak of northern institutions in just such terms, and express just such opinions, favourable or unfavourable, concerning them, as they choose to do, and no one attempts, neither should they attempt, to abridge their liberty of speech, or suppress their freedom of opinion, for they are American citizens, still under the gratefully waving banner of the American constitution. It is true that, in the course of this free constitutional intercourse of southern people at the north, numerous instances might be cited wherein they have disseminated principles altogether prejudicial to, and often in utter contempt of, free labour institutions; but we have not, neither should we have, any idea of lynching, whipping, or imprisoning them for the mere exercise of this safe and salutary constitutional right. We only ask the same equal right to be constitutionally reciprocated. And short of this our government cannot long stand a free government. Indeed, where this mutual and constitutional toleration and protection are not cordially extended, it is no longer a free government. It is free but in one portion of the country over which the government extends, but *absolute* and despotic in the other.

I have yet to learn that southern institutions are any more "delicate," or any dearer to southern people, than northern institutions are to northern people; or that the southern portion of our common country has guaranteed to it, by the American constitution, any exclusive privileges of the freedom of speech, right of petition, or liberty of the press,—all its outrages upon, or violations of, our sacred constitution to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is amusing to hear southern politicians sometimes proclaim, that if northern citizens do not desist from their investigations of the great principles of civil liberty, they, in return, will preach up what they call insurrection to northern free labourers; little knowing that the glory and the boast of the north is, that its free labour strength is the very "*back bone*" of the whole country. This is, as would be, for the mere extremities of the mammoth to preach the doctrine of revolt to the body. This mode of attack, however, I believe, is now nearly abandoned as a hopeless one, and the "*modus operandi*" entirely reversed.

The favourite scheme for slaveholding politicians now is, to devise ways and means for the monied, political, and ecclesiastical aristocracies of the north to blind, entrap, ensnare, and finally *enslave*, the entire labouring population of the now called free states. Northern aristocrats, from the stripling to the sage in years, have entered this southern high school, and are taking lessons in the great principles of despotism, and making fine progress. In this school, whose professors must all be either political or ecclesiastical slaveholders, the freshman, sophomore, and junior classes, while they learn how to speak of "*niggers*" and "*amalgamation*," must also learn to portray the beauties and advantages of the Union in terms so captivating, and in colours so glowing, if possible, that the *labourer* of giant strength will even submit to be shorn of his locks and become a child, and even a slave in chains, for the sake of gazing at a fabric so splendid. Grave and reverend seniors, both political and ecclesiastical, have degrees conferred upon them in this southern school of political despot-

ism, whenever, in addition to understanding the lessons of their juniors, they can either maintain a dignified silence, or, the one talk of the quietude of southern institutions, and of "*slavery being the best basis of freedom,*" and the other knows how to intimate the value of the "*patriarchal institution,*" and can stamp all who shall dare venture an opinion of his own, independent of ecclesiastical dictation, as an ultra fanatic, heterodox, and "*worse than an infidel.*"

But, to return to the question, that the free states have no constitutional or moral right to discuss the subject of slavery. This objection, though a very bold one, is only in perfect keeping, and probably originated from the same interested and sinister motives of all other objections to the right of speech and petition, freedom of discussion, and liberty of the press. The people are beginning to see, however, from what quarter it comes, even from the dark regions of slavery, tyranny, and blood. And the people well know, too, that tyrants the world over have ever been hostile, for the most obvious reasons, to an honest, independent, and unrestrained expression of opinion among the people with regard to all their undoubted and inalienable equal rights.

Whatever may be the *motives* of such objectors, to say the least, their doctrine is that of ignorance, tyranny, and darkness forever, which had its origin among crowned heads and earthly thrones, the introduction and the very existence of which always depend on the ignorance and vassalage of the *many*, and the knowledge and the exaltation of the *few*. Here are the very seeds of all aristocracy and despotism in the world. And what-

ever may be said about a "*prudent reserve*" to maintain the Union, it is the very syren song, which, if listened to, would enchant and bewilder us, and finally lead us to ruin! Whoever unresistingly submits himself to be controlled by this creed of lawless tyrants and despots is no longer a freeman, but has already himself, in truth, come under the iron yoke of slavery and despotism.

The people have often been most speciously decoyed by flattering pretensions by artful and designing men!

Rome was thus brought under this yoke of bondage fifty years before she was aware of it, until a tyrant controlled her destinies. This, too, was artfully done, by holding out to the people that their true interest was to sacrifice every thing for the extension of empire.

The doctrines of ignorance, of darkness, of muzzling the press, and of grasping at unjust power and dominion, will forever stand as much opposed to freedom, as the very prince of darkness to an angel of light. Not the business of any, and of each and of all the citizens, under a free government of their own, most freely to discuss and intimately to understand all subjects, moral, political, or scientific, which have, or may have, an influence upon the interests of the subjects of such government!! The very idea is monstrous, and should at once be scouted by every freeman; for it is a most palpable contradiction in terms, and carries its refutation on the very face of it.

But the opposite doctrine of free discussion, when we consider that, in all republics, all power and freedom must of necessity, and of right ought, forever to emanate from the people—like the noble and glorious principles, in the declaration of our independence—would

at once seem to be "self-evident." Indeed, it would almost appear to be descending from the proper dignity of freemen to debate a question which, in itself, appears as simple as whether two and two make four.

But all freemen ought always to remember, that they must be the willing and the unconquerable advocates for free discussion, even in matters which, to themselves, appear plain, ever regarding the *right* to discuss, and the unrestrained *exercise* of that right, as the very pillars of the temple of freedom, and the last hope of expiring liberty.

When the heaven-born *right* to discuss is profanely and tyrannically invaded, to allow the comparison here, we should all act like blind Bartemias, who, when the Saviour was passing by, called to him, probably in rather an under tone at first; but we are told, when the multitude cried "hush! hush!" Bartemias cried so much the louder. Who denies that he acted nobly upon his inalienable or personal rights of the first principles of all moral or civil liberty? And is it not to be presumed the Saviour honoured him accordingly, by making him "free indeed?" So we find that the adage applies, both morally and politically, that "fortune favours the brave." The man who will not cry the louder, or "so much the more," when the very centre right of all his rights is invaded, never ought to expect to be free; for he thus voluntarily surrenders his freedom into the hands of his master, and at once becomes a willing slave.

Might it not naturally be expected, that all who believe that this blind Bartemias gained his freedom by crying "*so much the more*," when the multitude noisily

opposed his right to cry *at all*, would learn a very valuable political as well as a useful moral lesson from it, and in similar circumstances "*go and do likewise?*" Indeed, from this there is no alternative.

The contest for the *right of speech* is the battle-field for all freedom. Retreat from this field, we are then pursued even unto death; or made prisoners for life.

And now let us inquire a moment into the relation which the north sustains, both morally and politically, to southern slavery, to enable us to make up our minds whether, indeed, we have any interest whatever, in the subject; and if so, whether the interest be of that character which gives us any moral or political right to discuss it. For example; I inquired, not long since, of a respectable clergyman, who refused to sign a memorial to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church on the subject of slavery in that church, what he would do, if at some future period, the slaves, having increased to some five or ten millions, and being goaded on by a sense of their past wrongs, should break out (as he admitted they probably would) into a general and dreadful insurrection, and he should be called upon by the executive of the nation to enter upon the battle-field as chaplain, to "*pray for the success*" of the arms of their masters and former oppressors? He promptly replied, that he would not go. Then said I to him, "*If you would act upon the old adage, that 'an ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure,' for your own sake, as well as that of the poor slaves and their masters too, and your country's honour and welfare, had you not better timely set about using all your constitutional political power, as well as your peaceful and*

rational moral influence, to prevent, if may be, even the possibility of a calamity so direful; lest, should you ever be thus called upon, and refuse to go, you should find yourself an outlaw, and be compelled to suffer the consequence?"

And do not all of us, in the free states, sustain this same unhappy, as well as guilty relation to southern slavery?

Nay! says one, you have used one word too many; say not, guilty. But we will inquire into this, a moment, and see how it looks. In case of an insurrection among the slaves at the South, every man at the North would at all times be liable to be called upon by the government of this nation, to aid in suppressing it; anti-abolitionists and *all*, would be promptly and imperatively called upon, not only for their money, but to leave their wives, their children, and their own otherwise peaceful and happy firesides, to take up their arms, and other dread implements of sanguinary warfare, and to march in "marshal array" to the Southern tented fields, and there to lavish their treasures and their blood, to defend the masters from the poor slaves, who would be contending for their lives, for their liberties, and for the privilege of owning their own bodies, their own wives, and their own children, with all the other rights dear to man.

How dreadful would be such a conflict!! And what *Northern* arm, nay, Southern too, would not palsy in the attempt?—for in the solemn and warning language of that patriot and statesman, Jefferson, "the Almighty has no attribute which could take part with the whites in such a contest;" for is not "*wrath heaping up against*

the day of wrath," and are we wise to "put far away the evil day?"

"This is our true national position." And indeed, if ever so dreadful and so dreaded a calamity should fall upon the southern portion of our common country, the main dependence of defence of the slaveholders from their slaves, would necessarily devolve on Northern freemen.

I will cite one or two instances, illustrative of such an event, and in confirmation of this opinion. The humiliating circumstance will probably never be forgotten by us, as a nation, that during the war with Great Britain, of 1812, the enemy invaded Washington, burnt the Capitol, sacked the public archives, and that President Madison was compelled to flee for his life. The public journals of those times, attribute the cause of this extraordinary event to the fact, that the white inhabitants in the District of Columbia, in the immediate vicinity of the Capitol, were too exclusively and anxiously occupied in watching and guarding their slaves from a momentarily expected revolt, to lend any aid to their country in such a crisis, in repelling the invaders.

It is also said, from good authority, that during the Southampton insurrection, fifty negroes rode in triumph through that county, and all the whites, except such as dared to watch their own slaves, fled in consternation before them, and that the *United States* troops finally quelled the insurrection. Who that desires the safety and prosperity of the South, as well as his whole country, will not do all that he can constitutionally and peacefully, to abolish Slavery in his beloved land, ere the just judgements of Heaven fall upon it, to its final

destruction? Should the government of this country ever regard the immediate emancipation of all property in human flesh and blood, in the land, called for the safety of the nation, it would then know no constitutional bounds over it and a universal jubilee would be proclaimed.

Would it be right for fathers, through indolence and dissipation, to accumulate a vast debt for their children to pay? If not, let *us*, while yet on the stage of life, do what we can, not to increase, but to diminish this ponderous and overhanging weight, which, if not upon our own, must fall with crushing power upon the heads of our children.

Surely, have people at the north no *right* to discuss, and no *interest* in discussing American Slavery? This view of the subject is truly terrific: yet there is a still higher, and more solemn and responsible view of it, upon which we ought to act, and which ought to move our hearts to a deep and an abiding sympathy. It is, that two millions and a half of our own countrymen, are this moment suffering under a cruel bondage, darker than Egyptian night, sunk down by us, into deep physical, moral, social, and political degradation and ruin, and constantly passing on to the judgement, in this state to meet *us*, their oppressors, there, with all *our* guilt and *their* blood upon us.

Who, that believes in the righteous retributions of that day, can stand under this view of it, unmoved?

We *can*, and often *do*, as a people, intermingle our sympathies with others, and express our deep abhorrence to all kinds of oppression, but *American* oppression!!

It is presumed, that even Mr. Calhoun, who says we have no business to intermeddle in any manner whatever

with the oppressions of others, at least, goes as far as to pull the mote out of his brother's eye. He has often done this to abolitionists, and has also declaimed against foreign oppressions; but the poor victims of our own dreadful oppressions, are sunk so low, that American eyes cannot behold them. But while our heads are so haughty, and our eyes so peculiarly blinded, and our hearts so peculiarly hardened, that we can see and feel the oppressions of all lands, save our own; the eyes and the hearts of other nations, as well as that eye that sleepeth not, and that heart that ever feels for human affliction and woes, are ever open to the claims of millions of oppressed Americans, trodden down under the iron hoof of American tyranny and American despotism.

Is it not to be feared that it is too much the case with American republicanism, if not with American Christianity, as it was with the Italian nobleman's religion? Dr. Franklin, while at Paris, being in company with an Italian nobleman, when the conversation turned upon the subject of religion, which the nobleman introduced: "How comes it," says the Doctor, "that the Italians, who are born at the very fountain of religion, should possess so little of it?" "That's easily answered," replied the nobleman. "In Italy," said he, "we manufacture, it is true, a great quantity of religion; but like all other manufactures, it's all for exportation." I would fain hope, indeed, that it is not true with us to the same extent.

We have always, as a people, most liberally manifested to the whole world, our deep abhorrence to all foreign oppressions, and ever proffered our warmest sym-

pathies to the oppressed in other lands "the world over." All this is as it should be.

While we should ever maintain a rigid political neutrality with friendly powers, we have an undoubted *moral right*, with proper discriminations of justice to all concerned, to do so. Nay, more: it is ever our most bounden moral duty so to do. And indeed, in consistency with our long and loud professions of love for universal rational freedom, and for the highest possible good of mankind, how could we do less? But while we do the one because it is *right*, let us not leave the other undone, for it is *wrong*. In leaving the other undone, we have rendered all our external manifestations of abhorrence to the foreign oppressor, and our proffers of sympathy to the foreign oppressed, comparatively powerless. The world has been saying to us, "what do ye more than others?" "First take the *beam* from thine own eye, that thou mayest see the more clearly to take the mote from thy brother's eye," has long been its language.

What American, aware of the too just opinions entertained by the whole civilized world, of the enormity of American oppressions, must not feel this justly called-for retort as a most powerful, cutting, and humiliating rebuke, before heaven and earth, and lay it to heart, and feel himself humbled, as in the very dust before it? Is not our national conduct in truth, in this matter, like unto a man who should be extremely provident to all his neighbours, while his own numerous and dependent family, to whom he professed great love and attachment, were left comparatively in a state of actual starvation? What an enigma is man!! In a late speech of Mr.

Biddle, who recently fled here from Canada, (that land where 10,000 of our slaves have taken refuge) he laboured much to pass very high encomiums upon this land, as the great *asylum* of the oppressed. But let it be known that we have more than double the number of slaves than the entire population of both the Canadas.

It was but yesterday I felt mortified and rebuked in the extreme, as an American citizen, in hearing a poor coloured man just from Canada, apparently with much simplicity and honesty, say, that the coloured people who had fled there for an asylum from American oppressions, were opposed to the Patriot cause in those Provinces, from the very fact that they had learned that American sympathy was with the Patriots. I felt in my soul to exclaim, O ! my country, is this indeed, even so ?

He then further stated that the 10,000 coloured people who had fled there from the States, entertained great fears, that should the Patriot cause ever succeed in the Canadas, all the refugees there from American bondage, would either be reduced to slavery there, or at once be given up to American slave-hunters and kidnappers. All this is as natural as for the burnt child to dread the fire. But, "O, tell it not in Gath;" publish not our national shame "in the streets of Ashkelon!" Can our oppressed countrymen, indeed, find no asylum on earth secure from the tormenting fear of the tyrant's grasp, and the task-master's lash ! Must they, for naught, be continually hunted like the wild beast of the forest ? Has humanity turned away forever from this people ?

This most thrilling consideration, however, shows two interesting facts, both of which slaveholders and their sycophantic apologists have always most cruelly

and slanderously denied : — First, that this people have the discernment to see what government protects their rights : and secondly, that they have the fidelity to prove themselves true to that government.

I mean not, by these remarks, that the people in Canada may not be more or less oppressed by their government, and that reform may be called for. But this is a question which I am not called upon here to discuss. To say the most, however, their oppressions can bear no sort of comparison whatever, to that of millions of Americans, born and living in our own country. And coloured people in Canada have learnt this full well, from the great and dear teacher, experience ; and they look back upon the States as Lot did upon Sodom !

As I have alluded to the unhappy state of affairs in a neighbouring power, I will just say here, that while I was gratified to hear a respectable minister of the gospel for whom I entertain a high regard, allude in the desk as I thought in a becoming manner to the late shocking massacre of some of our citizens by British soldiers on our frontier, I was also equally pained to learn that he has not as yet made even the most distant allusion to the previous massacre by riotous and murderous hands, of a valuable minister of the gospel, a brother of his own faith, shot down, it is true, not by British soldiers under at least a false shadow of pretext of the rights of warfare, but by the hands of some of his own mobocratic and recreant countrymen, for his nobly defending that for which our fathers fought and bled ; I mean suffering and dying liberty on our own soil. Why should not our sympathies for human suffering be at least somewhat proportioned to its intensity and mag-

nitude? We are most cruelly driving the poor Indian from his native lands, as in Florida, to make still more room for the curse of slavery, 15,000 slaves being already unconstitutionally held in the same territory of the United States. Here are millions of our own countrymen as it were, before our own doors and before our own eyes, already deprived of all earthly civil rights, and in their dark midnight bondage, shut out from the blessed light of Heaven; and the dearest ties of earthly attachment among them constantly and most wickedly rent asunder forever,—and here is our countryman, and our brother, whose bosom yearning with compassion for their dreadful sufferings, is constrained to step forward in love to defend their rights—his inalienable constitutional right of speech and liberty of the press are again and again tyrannically denied him; his property in his press, that engine of freedom and terror to tyrants, is again and again destroyed—and with motives so pure, and in defence, as an American citizen for himself and for his country, of all these undoubted constitutional rights, after being long cruelly persecuted, and hunted from place to place like a beast of prey; at length perishes in his own city by lawless and murderous hands, the mobocratic tools of base tyrants behind the awful scene! All this he endured for his suffering fellow-man, and for his country. — And is his name unworthy of even one emotion of sympathy, some humble token of regard? Has he indeed, (as some have even profanely dared to say,) “died as the fool dieth?” “I tell you nay!” but *his* name shall be embalmed and immortalized in the grateful recollections of unborn millions, who will yet rise up and call him blessed! It will

be forever honourably enrolled, not only with patriots and philanthropists *below*, but with martyrs triumphantly above; — while the names of such as can “*pass by on the other side*,” and withhold from his sainted memory the mere tribute of sympathy, at least for his untimely *widowed* wife and *orphaned* children, will moulder in oblivion. While Lovejoy is dead he yet speaketh!!

Before any aggressions were made upon us, to contribute liberally of our means, and to volunteer in person, to correct the opinions and the wrongs (even by the point of the bayonet) of a sister nation with whom we are at peace, has been by many among us considered noble! But to express our opinions of the egregious and untold wrongs and oppressions of one sixth part of our own fellow-countrymen; ah, cries a pharisee, this is a subject too sacred to be meddled with, and there are lips among us too pure to be tainted with language, in the least degree contributory to an influence so unhallowed. O consistency, thou art indeed a jewel! But when, O when will our beloved country discover this jewel!

With regard to the jurisdiction of Congress over American Slavery, whatever Calhoun, Patton, and all their slaveholding associates, and their slavery apologists and abettors, under whatever name, may say, in order to sustain the barbarous institution of slavery, and thereby to maintain their own despotic political or ecclesiastical power, it will nevertheless be seen when all these dark clouds of interest and prejudice shall have blown over, that it is as clear as the brilliant sun at mid-day, that the Congress of the United States has a perfect political or constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in all the territories, and the

inter-state slave traffic. This is all the constitutional political right that abolitionists have hitherto claimed, or acted upon; and the extent of which they have asked Congress to exercise. All this, Franklin, Jay, and all their associates, also very justly claimed and acted upon on the same subject. But some modern pretended statesmen, in order to hold the enslaved, and enslave the free, have become vastly wiser in their own conceits than was Washington, and Franklin, and Jefferson and all the immortal framers of the American Constitution.

While a part of the slaveholding and pro-slavery politicians would fain confidently make us believe that the American constitution is already against the people meddling with slavery in any manner whatever, and that the slaves are now held with the same iron constitutional grasp in the *District of Columbia*, and in all the *territories* of the United States as in the slave States, — other portions knowing this to be untenable ground, take the bold position, that the constitution must be altered so as to take away from the people the right of speech and petition on the subject, as they very speciously say, to support slavery and the Union. This would be like supporting one's body on the severe forfeiture of his head and his heart!!

The arch stroke of all the master-workmen and champions for slavery and a despotical government, is most adroitly to couple the existence of slavery with the existence of the Union; and in this way, knowing the love the people have for the Union, they call upon them with some assurance that they will obey, to make every sacrifice, even that of their own *liberties* to maintain *slavery*

Let us hear what Mr. Calhoun, the great nullifier and mouth-piece of slaveholders said on this subject, while recently haranguing the political slave-holding senators to vote for his nullification and gag-law resolutions, as he required them to do, "to a man." This shows his *political* view of slavery; and his *moral* view is, that it is, of all others, the very best and purest institution in the whole world. At least these are principles which he now zealously holds out, and calls upon all in the nation, north and south, east and west, to rally around this his political creed, and preserve, as he says, our "*free institutions*," by reducing all free labourers to *slavery*.

But he can not himself believe his own professed horrible doctrine, for he often becomes "choaked," and inadvertently contradicts himself.

"I regard slavery, says he, "wherever it exists throughout the whole southern section, as one common question, and it is as much under the constitution in the District of Columbia, and in the territories, as in the States themselves; and herein lies our safety. Abandon this, and all is abandoned." He would tell the Southern senators, if these great principles be abandoned, theirs would be the responsibility. If they yield, if even a small portion, one or two yield, in the slaveholding states, the members from the non-slaveholding *must* yield. They can not do otherwise. You force them to do it. How can they stand up, when you abandon your position? How can they defend themselves at home, when told that even southern members had surrendered the ground? Let not the fallacious hope of drawing in votes, of uniting *all*, induce a surrender of the strong and impregnable ground we oc-

cupy. If we stand fast, (says this oft foiled demagogue, but still ambitious man,) all who agree with us from any quarter, all who hold to our *political creed*, (to wit, "*slavery is the best basis of freedom*,") will ultimately rally around our principles."

These principles, be it ever remembered, are the lurking principles of nullification, the despotic principles of trampling the people's sacred constitution with all its guarantees of freedom under foot with contempt. And finally, the principles of slaveholding politicians and ecclesiastics at the south, from their own plain declarations are, with what aid they can rally from kindred spirits at the north, speedily to enslave the entire labouring population of this nation, regardless of section or colour.

The doctrine of slaveholding and of pro-slavery politicians is, that short of this, neither slavery nor this government can stand. Here is the poisonous bait!! so says Mr. Calhoun, "*this is our true national position*;" that is, we slaveholding politicians and ecclesiastics, have already "got our foot" firmly upon the necks of two and a half million of the labouring class in the southern portion of the country, and you northern aristocrats, whether monied, political, or ecclesiastical, combine your despotic power, and throw your whole weight, with *us*, upon five millions more of this troublesome labouring class, and the *Union and slavery* are safe forever.

We see in this avowed declaration of sentiments a slaveholding and pro-slavery despotic creed, a most fearful scion, which, if the people do not soon discover and pluck it up by the roots, it will speedily grow en-

tirely beyond their reach, and finally fall upon them to their destruction.

I will here give the opinion of Daniel Webster—in relation to the jurisdiction of Congress over the District of Columbia, which I presume is worth more, among northern people especially, if not with many disinterested southern people, than any nullifier's opinion that Gen. Jackson ever bravely vetoed. Though while Mr. Webster so clearly and so firmly gives his opinion in a statesman-like manner in favour of the constitution, he does not come out boldly against that national system of oppression in our country, which is so surely, and so rapidly undermining all our free institutions. In the very midst of all such very able expositions of the constitution from Mr. Webster and others, "expediency" will still ruin the country, unless the PEOPLE soon arrest its most dangerous progress in its subtly stealing away their fundamental rights and liberties. The very touch of slavery to freedom, is contamination!!

The atmosphere itself, at the very seat of the boasted-ly freest government on earth, is impregnated with moral and political pollution!

Mr. Webster, like many of our northern statesmen, of which we so proudly and so justly boast; in relation to freedom of debate on the greatest subject which hangs over our nation, must, and I hope soon will be fully emancipated, by the "sovereign people" coming up to his help to "stay up his hands."

I believe thus far, no *northern* statesman who ever had much reputation to retain or to lose, though often tempted by southern inducements, has ever given his opinion absolutely against the constitutionality of Con-

gress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. Van Buren, previous to his late election to the presidency of the United States, in reply to numerous and clamorous calls from slaveholding politicians, for his sentiments on this subject did not venture farther than to pledge himself, if elected, to veto any bill for the abolition of slavery in the District, on the ground of "inexpediency," and an idle pretext, that the faith of Congress was plighted to the States making the cession. This, it is true, I believe, was an "expedient" stretch of conscience, and answered his purpose and the object of slaveholders in full; as much so as though he had said in just so many words, that it is absolutely unconstitutional, and it was also "swallowed" by the north with much less "compunctions" and "strangulations" — It took like an indirect tax. The president, in his last message, as if nothing had happened, went on at length to recommend to Congress to exercise their jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, in all cases whatsoever, in revising or repealing obsolete laws, and enacting new ones to the full extent of the wants of the inhabitants; informing Congress, that the people in this District had no other source to look to, and that heretofore, in the multiplicity of its duties, it had too much overlooked them. All this was well, and just as it should be. Now, with regard to the course which Mr. Van Buren took to find his way into the presidential chair, although a crooked one, it is, nevertheless, an easier path for the north to travel in, than any president hereafter will make them, so long as tyranny, the political and moral curse of slavery, governs this nation. I mean by this, that the enormous slaveholding power in this nation, is becoming

more and more arrogant, and more and more rigorous and exorbitant in its tyrannical exactions of servile northern obedience to its dictation. If I can judge at all by the despotic, slaveholding spirit and tone of the Congress of 1838, the "dear and sovereign people" may think themselves most graciously dealt by, if the "grim monster," slavery, with his servile sycophants, does not peremptorily demand of the next presidential candidate, as the rigorous terms of his election, that he not only tread in Mr. Van Buren's footsteps, but that he go as far, on grounds of "expediency," to compromise the right of *speech* and *petition* on the subject of slavery, as Mr. Van Buren did to compromise the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. "*This, says Mr. Calhoun, is our true national position!*" That odious term, "expediency," is now but a softer name for *dishonesty* or tyranny. Every school-boy in the United States, of six years of age, ought to read our constitution, and to read it straighter than many of our great politicians, with their crooked "expedient" eyes do read it. And unless the great body of the people will so teach their children,—their *constitution*, and with it their liberties, are destined, at no distant day, to be swallowed up by the all-devouring vortex of "expediency," slavery, and despotism. As the opinion of Mr. Webster, on this subject, would have weight with many, I deem it proper in this place to make an extract from a late speech of his delivered in the Senate of the United States, against the passage of Mr. Calhoun's "gag-law" resolutions: "I do not know, said Mr. Webster, any matter of facts, or any ground of argument upon which this plighted faith can be sustained. I see

nothing, said he, by which Congress has tied up its hands, either *directly* or *indirectly*, so as to put its clear constitutional power beyond the exercise of its own discretion. I have carefully examined the acts of cessions by the States, the act of Congress, the proceedings and history of the times, and I find nothing to lead me to doubt that it was the intention of all parties to leave this, like other subjects belonging to the legislation for the ceded territory, entirely to the discretion and wisdom of Congress. The words of the constitution are clear and plain. None could be clearer or plainer. Congress, by that instrument, has power to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the ceded territory in all cases whatsoever." The acts of cession contain no limitation, condition, or qualification whatever. The acts of cession declare that the tract of country "is forever ceded and relinquished to Congress, and to the government of the United States, in full and absolute right, and exclusive jurisdiction, as well of soil, as of persons residing, or to reside therein, pursuant to the tenour and effect of the 8th section of the first article of the constitution of the United States." Now, that section to which reference is thus expressly made in these deeds of cession, declares that Congress shall have power "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such District, not exceeding ten miles square, as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States." "Nothing, therefore, as it seems to me," continues this senator, "can be clearer, than that the states making the cession, expected Congress to exercise over the District precisely that power, and neither more nor

less which the constitution had conferred upon it." "I do not know," said Mr. Webster, "how the provision or the intention, either of the constitution, in granting the power, or of the states in making the cession, *could* be expressed in a manner more absolutely free from all doubt or ambiguity." "I see, therefore," says this clear-headed statesman, "nothing in the *act of cession*, and nothing in the *constitution*, and nothing in the *history* of this transaction, implying any limitation upon the authority of Congress." Here is a clear and lucid view of the entire jurisdiction of Congress over the District of Columbia, in all cases whatsoever, and yet loads of the peoples' petitions for the abolition of slavery in this District are insultingly stowed away in the Capitol, unread and unnoticed. O! "expediency," thou hollow-hearted, dishonest nullifier of all constitutions, and contemner of all law, "human or divine." I have spoken of Mr. Van Buren's crooked course to find his way into the presidential chair; but let me by no means be understood as supposing him to be of all men the worst. I am not at all prepared to say how many men there are of all political parties or creeds, even at the north, who, from southern bribery, might not be induced to go much farther than even Mr. Van Buren has gone, in compromising the constitutional liberties of freemen to the interests of slavery. I know not what Webster, or Harrison, or Clay, might be tempted to do if an opportunity presented, were the people found sleeping. In all truly free governments, the people are master, and the servants obey; but when the masters are blind or absent, these servants are idle, the vineyard undressed, or its fruit destroyed.

“Again,” said Mr. Webster, on the same occasion, “looking back to the state of things then existing, and especially to what Congress had done so recently before, when it accepted the cession of the north-western territory, I entertain no doubt whatever, that Congress would have *refused* the cession, if offered, with any condition or understanding, that its constitutional authority to exercise exclusive legislation over the District in all cases whatsoever should be abridged.”

Mr. Webster, like many northern as well as southern statesmen, from the impression doubtless that the whole people were not yet sufficiently informed on the subject of slavery on all its tremendous bearings upon the liberties of the country to sustain him, has not as yet, so far as I know, fully committed himself on the subject of abolition : but to show that no one can for a moment, reason logically upon the first principles of civil liberty, or upon the American constitution, (the exercise of which alone, can support free government) without falling inadvertently, whether he will or not, into pure ancient as well as modern abolition sentiments, I will here cite a few paragraphs from a still later speech of his in the Senate upon a subject having no reference whatever, either to slavery, or to the District of Columbia. — It will be borne in mind by the reader, in connexion with Mr. Webster’s very sound remarks which I am about to cite, not only that Mr. Webster, but the whole nation, until quite recently, have always most fully admitted the constitutional power of Congress over the seat of our free government, at once to order all the handcuffs, chains, fetters, and yokes, to be taken from all innocent men, women and children therein ; but that the south

now have closed the doors of the people's capitol against the whole subject, by gag laws, to reject the people's petitions, in open defiance of their own constitution, and that many northern members also have proved recreant to their high trusts, and have even dared to aid in thus closing the doors of the capitol against their own constituents upon the dangerous, unmanly, and cowardly plea of inexpediency. If things are suffered to go on much longer at this high-handed rate, one might well think there would not be a man in the nation, coloured or uncoloured, who would have courage enough to claim his own wife and children, if a slaveholder perchance should happen to want them. — The following are the words of Mr. Webster as alluded to: "I care not, Sir, on what side, or in which of its branches the constitution may be attacked. Every successful attack upon it, made any where weakens the whole, and renders the next assault easier and more dangerous. *Any denial of its just powers is an attack upon it. We attack it, most fiercely attack it, whenever we say we will not exercise the powers which it enjoins.* Sir, it is the nature of such things, that the first violation, or the first departure from true principles, draws more important violations or departures after it; and the first surrender of just authority, will be followed by others more to be deplored. If there be made a first chasm, though it be small, through *that* the whole wide ocean will pour in, and we may then throw up embankments in vain." Mr. Webster himself, probably never uttered words before this nation of more solemn import, than the few just cited. Let us as a whole nation beware before too late, lest the glorious constitution of our venerable fathers be not rendered a

nullity, a mere mockery, by false policy ; and the syren song of "expediency" finally lure us to shipwreck and ruin. The constitution must be held sacred and nobly lived up to by the north and by the south, by the east and by the west ; or though the mere *form* remain, the *spirit* of liberty will be grieved, weep over the people, and take her flight forever from the land. — Mr. Webster further remarks upon the constitution : "Intrusted with some part in the administration of that constitution, I intend to act in its spirit, and in the spirit of those who framed it. Yes, Sir, I would act as if our fathers who formed it for us, and who bequeathed it to us, were looking on us ; as if I could see their venerable forms bending down to behold us from the abodes above. I would act too, Sir, as if that long line of posterity were also viewing us, whose eye is hereafter to scrutinize our conduct. Standing thus as in the full gaze of our ancestors and our posterity ; having received this inheritance from the former to be transmitted to the latter ; and feeling that if I am born for any good in my day and generation, it is for the good of the whole country ; no local policy, or local feeling, no temporary impulse shall induce me to yield my foothold on the constitution and the Union." Now regardless of party or the man from whom they emanated, what lover of the American constitution and of our whole country can deny these to be great and noble views ? Yet, whatever the opinions of the friends of the author may be, in relation to his prospects for the chief magistracy of this AMALGAMATED UNION ; knowing as I do, that his consistent and independent views of the constitution are carried out upon the journals of the senate, and are before the nation ; to me such

an event would be little less than miracle, with the present *slaveholding, constitution-crushing power upon the nation*, unless indeed like others gone before him, he too, by the bribery of human flesh, and blood, and souls, could possibly find himself capable of sliding from the high and healthful ground he now occupies into the smooth, but sickly stream of expediency. Better, far better, for the country and for the world, that he should still live and die in his integrity in the senate-chamber of the nation. Whoever heard of one's being blessed in "*doing evil that good might come*," or in attempting to reform a nation by first himself turning recreant to truth? An idle dream! — like a virtuous lady knowingly uniting her fortune for time, with a worthless man, upon a pretence of benevolence to effect his permanent reformation.

In a late speech of Garret Smith, Esq. on this subject, which among the many very able and happy efforts of that gentleman for the last twenty years in the cause of suffering humanity, and all the rights of his fellow-man and his country, will not I think rate second in point of usefulness, he shows most clearly and conclusively that it has not been the efforts of abolitionists, which have rendered it unconstitutional and inexpedient to abolish the slave traffic in the District of Columbia, between the States and in the territories, and put back emancipation fifty or a hundred years: but the invention, introduction, and successful operation of the cotton gin, together with the unhallowed influence of political and designing demagogues to advance themselves into power over all the sacrificed and crushed rights of two and a half millions of our trodden down countrymen, and that these

demagogues have sunk the iron of oppression deep into the souls of these our fellow-countrymen to sustain their own ill-gotten and unrighteous political power. And is there not likewise, says Mr. Smith, conclusive evidence of the absurdity of the supposition, that Maryland had the infatuated zeal for slavery which she is now represented to have had? As early as the year 1785, her delegation voted to free the northwestern territory from this curse. In point of thoroughness and decision, the "*abolitionism*" of her statesman surpassed that of the statesman of Virginia. Luther Martin, whom more than any other of her sons she delighted to honour, was a member of the convention that formed the constitution of the United States. Such was his zeal for the abolition of slavery throughout the nation, that he insisted that Congress should be invested with power to effect it. Scarcely inferior to his, was the strong hold which her William Pinkney had upon her affections and admiration. This celebrated jurist set no bounds to his abhorrence of slavery; and so admirable, so unrivalled, is one of the abolition speeches which he delivered in the Maryland House of Delegates in 1789, that the abolitionists of this day have printed and scattered tens of thousands of copies of it. "Sir," said Mr. Pinckney in that speech, "*by the eternal principles of natural justice, no master in the State has a right to hold his slave in bondage for a single hour.*" How idle is it to represent Virginia and Maryland as clinging to slavery at the time the District of Columbia was constituted — and so peculiarly tenacious of its prolongation in that District! The truth is, that no fact stands out more prominently in the history of those States during the first fifteen

years after the beginning of the revolutionary war, than that of the decay of their attachment to this institution (slavery) which would long since have expired entirely, but for the reviving influences upon it of the invention of the Cotton Gin. As a proof of the decline of this attachment, those states, Virginia in 1782, and Maryland in 1787, passed acts legalizing manumission. Ah! cries the anti-abolitionist, were it not for you "fanatics," slavery would soon now be abolished. But in reply to this, let it only be remembered that the mammon of unrighteousness in the sudden and great increase of the cotton trade, swallowed up the fanaticism of the Washingtons, Jeffersons, Madisons, Masons, Franklins, and Tylers, in favour of human liberty, with all the examples of emancipation in the northern states before the country. The poor slave, if not the free, may well curse the day that the Cotton Gin inventor was born. I mean by this, that the slaveholding interest through the whole nation, has become so vast and overwhelming in consequence, that it now dares seriously to menace the liberties of the free of the whole nation. Should the question actually be put to every mother in the land, which she would choose; to sit at the spinning wheel as in "olden times," or to see her sons enslaved; who dares to suppose for a moment that she would say the latter? Nay more! who does not know, if necessary to prevent such a calamity to her children, that she would not only sit at the wheel, but most cheerfully pull the flax also, and break it, and manufacture it entire with her own hands even, as did the noble matrons of the revolution while our fathers were contending on the battle field for our liberties. Then what is slavery,

and what is liberty! and "what man seeing this, and having human feelings, must not blush and hang his head," if he is not doing all in his power for the speedy and peaceful liberation of two and a half millions of our suffering countrymen in base bondage,—claim not that magic name "republican," nor that more hallowed one, "christian," if it be not so. There is not a mother or a sister in the land who would not cheerfully, if necessary, lay aside the piano, leave the parlour, and toil in the field even, to redeem her sons, or her brothers, from so cruel a bondage.

Among many other evidences that the State of New-York, as well as other States in the Union, has not always thought it unconstitutional nor inexpedient for Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, is the joint resolution of her Senate and Assembly, strongly and decidedly in favour of its immediate abolition in the session of 1829, one or two short extracts from the very able report in favour of liberty; from the report of her committee at this session for the satisfaction of any who may not have read the report, or if they have, may have forgotten it, I will here give:—"That they have given said memorials all the considerations which the importance of the subject demands, and have reason to believe that a *vast majority* of the citizens of the non-slaveholding states have for a long time regarded the existence of slavery in that district of our country as *entirely inconsistent* with our national character, and our republican professions and institutions. The committee cannot but view with astonishment, that in the very capital of this free and enlightened country, laws should exist by which the free citizens of a State are liable

without trial, and even without the imputation of crime, to be seized while prosecuting their lawful business, — immured in prison ; and, though free, unless claimed as slaves, to be sold as such for the payment of jail fees. That sacred spot, consecrated, as it were, to freedom, by being set apart as the *seat* of the national government, and the site of the great national temple of liberty, should be entirely clear of this stigma. The committee would respectfully suggest, that a resolution calling the attention of our senators and representatives in Congress to this subject would likely be a help in removing slavery from that district." Feb. 16, 1829, the following resolution was adopted : — " Resolved, if the Senate concur herein (and the Senate did concur,) that the senators of this State in the Congress of the United States, be, and are hereby instructed ; and the representatives of this State are requested, to make every proper exertion to effect the passage of a law for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia." Wonder what the present senators from New-York could say to this, both of whom, in the session of the Congress of 1838, cast their whole influence on the side, not of *constitutional liberty* for all, but of *unconstitutional slavery* for all, regardless of colour. When we compare all these past noble efforts in favour of liberty, with the last two or three years proceedings in our empire, but disgraced State, as well as in our whole land, while pro-slavery demagogues have been able to raise their base pro-slavery mobocratic tools, to put down freedom of debate on the subject of the liberty both of the actually enslaved and the nominally free ; and also, the late recreant and disgraceful proceedings of Congress in the

passage of their unconstitutional, tyrannical slavery resolutions to abridge the liberty of speech, and to deny and suppress the right of petition of the people ; who is not ready to exclaim with indignant amazement, “ How are the mighty fallen ! How has the gold become brass, and the fine gold dim.”

It does appear to me there can be no doubt that the truth is, so far from there being a particle of plighted faith to Maryland and Virginia on the part of Congress never to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without their consent, as is *now pretended for effect* by slaveholding politicians and their abettors, that no impartial person can sit down and deliberately read over the plain words of the acts of cession, and the whole history of those times in relation to the very favourable state of public sentiment, both north and south, in regard to the speedy and entire abolition of slavery in the whole land, — without seeing that it was then deemed a high favour by those states, for Congress to accept the cession of that district for the seat of the national government altogether unconditionally ; or, as expressed in the constitution itself, that Congress should “ *exercise exclusive legislative control over it in all cases whatsoever.*”

Who that knows that at the very time the cession was made the northern states were ripe for abolishing their slavery ; that numerous abolition societies then existed, not only in “ Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-York, and New-Jersey, but also in Virginia and Maryland ; and that numerous addresses and sermons denouncing slavery in every part of the country by the Pinckneys, the Jays, the Franklins, the Edwardses

the Hopkinses, the Stileses, the Patrick Henrys, and the Thomas Jeffersons," of those better days for freedom, can even imagine for a moment that the north was then so dependent on the south; that with the then prevailing sentiments, and with a large balance of political power in her favour, she would even have accepted the cession upon any other considerations than upon entire and independent grounds of freedom, according to the very clear, expressive, and conclusive words of the constitution itself, that Congress should forever "exercise exclusive legislation over the district in all cases whatsoever." It does appear to me, aside from the unequivocal language of the constitution, that it would be the very height of absurdity, under all these decidedly favourable circumstances for independence and freedom on the part of Congress, to suppose that body capable at that time of submitting to any unnecessary requisitions which should tie up its own hands, or compromise its own liberties and independence. It would certainly seem, that to one familiar with the public mind, and the state of the whole country at that time, that this could not be even a supposable case. Indeed, the people of Maryland and Virginia themselves, in these better days for liberty, were not far behind their northern neighbours in the noble cause of freedom and human rights.

The public mind, at this time, from the great and interesting scenes of the revolution, was so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty, that it could not help but feel for every creature in vile bondage. But, alas! how has long and continued prosperity blunted the better feelings of our natures.

These states made the cession not only in full view

of the proposed constitution to be adopted immediately after, and to which they had previously signified their full assent, with the known provisions that the foreign slave-trade was to cease after the year 1808 ; and that Congress, if it accepted the cession of the district, was to "exercise exclusive legislation over it in all cases whatsoever:" but they were, moreover, so desirous that the seat of the national government should be located somewhere in that section of the country, that in the very words of the acts of cession they said, if Congress would accept the cession for the capital of the nation, it might make the selection in any part of those states. The words of the act of cession of Maryland, in relation to this point, are as follows, — (referring to the representatives of that State, who were to meet in New-York in March following for the adoption of the constitution :) — "And they are hereby authorized and required, on the behalf of this State, to cede to the Congress of the United States, ANY DISTRICT in this State not exceeding ten miles square, which the Congress may *fix upon* and *accept* for the seat of Government of the United States." The language of the act of cession of Virginia, under precisely the same circumstances, is, "Wherein a location of ten miles square, *if the wisdom of Congress shall so direct*, the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, may *participate* in such location." If Virginia had even cared, at that time, any thing about the preservation of slavery, while she was proposing to Congress to accept a portion of her territory for the seat of the "*freest Government in the world*," who must not see that she would not thus have proposed the accommodation of Pennsylvania.

We also read in the Virginia act of cession, these very explicit words: "Be it therefore further enacted by the General Assembly, that a tract of country not exceeding ten miles square, or any lesser quantity, to be located within the limits of this state, and in *any part thereof*, as Congress may by law direct, shall be, and the same is hereby forever ceded and relinquished to the Congress and Government of the United States, in full and absolute right, and exclusive jurisdiction, as well of soil as of persons, residing or to reside thereon, pursuant to the tenour and effect of the eighth section of the first article of the Government of the United States."

So here, in this proposition of Virginia to Congress, to *accept* of said proposed cession, she alludes to the very clause in the constitution of the United States, giving Congress the "exclusive legislative control in all cases whatsoever," over *any* district for the seat of government, which Congress might *accept*. In either acts of cession there is not a syllable of reservation or proviso, on the part of the states so desirous to make the cession, except Virginia barely says the act shall not be so construed as to affect the rights of individuals in the soil merely." If presumptions have any thing at all to do in this matter, whoever is acquainted with the very favourable state of public sentiment towards emancipation at the time the cession was made, it does appear to me that they must judge, that so far from there being a particle of plighted faith implied on the part of Congress to these states, that the presumption is altogether on the other side, that the states deemed it a high favour for Congress to accept the cession on its own terms, and entirely favourable to independence and

freedom; and that they would very soon follow the proposed good work of emancipation of their northern sister states. But O! the cotton gin, avarice, and demagogues, what hast thou done, and what canst thou not do? But as I have proposed to reply to so many objections, I am admonished to be brief; but I cannot forbear to add two or three facts, out of volumes that might be cited to show that the whole country, from the then existing state of things, in relation to slavery, did have good reason strongly to hope that the South would go on immediately with the North, after the adoption of the constitution, in the then so greatly desired work of immediate emancipation. And first, who can suppose for a moment, that the North, with a large balance of political power, would have adopted the constitution; giving three-fifths of the slave property a representation, had it supposed that the slaves would have increased from half a million to two and a half millions, by 1838; and that property, in human flesh and blood, would have thirty representatives in the national councils in 1840!

Again, what had the North good reason to hope from the South, in the cause of emancipation, when every slaveholding member of Congress, from the States of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, voted for the celebrated ordinance of 1787, (one year before the cession of the District of Columbia, and the adoption of the constitution) which abolished all the slavery then existing in the great extent of country of the northwest territory; and when these states also voted unanimously to abolish the foreign slave traffic, and when among the many noble sons of Virginia, *Jefferson had publicly said "the way I hope is preparing*

under the auspices of heaven, for a TOTAL EMANCIPATION." Mr. Madison of Virginia, said, "the dictates of humanity — the principles of the people — the national safety and happiness, and prudent policy, required it (emancipation) of us. The constitution has particularly called our attention to it." It is to be hoped, said he, that we may save ourselves from reproaches, and our posterity the imbecility ever attendant on a country filled with slaves. Washington said, "there are in Pennsylvania, laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither Maryland nor Virginia have at present, but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period *not remote*." A reason urged in the convention that formed the constitution, why the word *slave* should not be used in it was, that when slavery should cease, there might remain upon the national character, *no record that it had ever been*. All this shifting positions from unconstitutionality to plighted faith, and from pretended plighted faith to expediency to support the Union, only goes to prove the whole slavery cause untenable.

The truth is, it is like "hoping against hope to look for a shadow of testimony; or a single circumstance that could be tortured into plighted faith, on the part of Congress to the states, making the cession. But exactly the reverse of this might be fairly inferred. From all the then existing circumstances, there was indeed, virtually, a plighted faith on the part of those states, as well as all the other slave states to Congress, and to the whole people, and to the world, that they would go immediately and banish slavery from their bounds. This was then, most assuredly, the flattered and flattering hope in this country and in Europe. Indeed the world had good

reason to expect this of us, as we had ourselves just closed a seven years' hard contention for liberty.

For further particulars on this subject, as well as on the subject of slavery in general, I would refer any one who has not already perused them, to the invaluable remarks of H. B. Stanton Esq., before a committee of representatives of Massachusetts, to whom was referred sundry memorials on the subject of slavery ; and also to a pamphlet of about sixty pages, which has recently made its appearance under the signature of "Wythe," supposed to be the production of Theodore D. Weld, with ample extracts from the writings and speeches of most of the public men on the subject of slavery, North and South, for sometime previous to, at the time, and subsequent to the adoption of the constitution, showing most conclusively, that the universal expectation of the whole country was, not only that Congress, in accepting the ten miles square for the seat of the general government, reserved to itself the full power to make and unmake laws in the district at its pleasure, or as, in the very words of the constitution, "in all cases whatsoever ;" but that it possessed no constitutional power to accept a location for the seat of government upon any other ground ; and moreover, that from every expression of the whole country at that time, and of southern as well as northern members of the convention adopting the constitution at the time the cession was accepted, the universal admission was constantly made, that slavery was a very great moral and political evil, and that the members finally left the convention satisfied on the subject of slavery, from the apparent impression of *all*, that it would very soon at least, be abolished in the whole land ; or as one mem-

ber emphatically expressed it in the convention, that although slavery was not stricken with the apoplexy, he trusted it had the consumption. But again, let it be repeated, the cotton gin, avarice, and "politicians," have wrought a woful change in public sentiment throughout this country, since those "golden days of liberty."

I regard these pamphlets as embracing a remarkably succinct and lucid view of the subject of American slavery. They are worth—I was about to say, their weight in gold, to every American citizen. It would indeed be so, if he would read their contents, and follow the dictates of wisdom therein suggested. Our whole nation might then be free indeed! and become a truly great and a happy people, the wonder, and the just praise of the whole earth!

And while the *political* right, for the slave states to hold slaves in their respective states, (whatever the constitution in strictness may be,) is at present generally conceded by abolitionists, still for the people to renounce their inalienable MORAL right, to speak against slavery, even here, and every where, in all its forms; or if they please, to speak against any law, or any article in the constitution of any state, or of the United States, would be for the "sovereign people," voluntarily to open their own mouths, and to receive the odious *gag* by their own hands.

It would be tamely surrendering the *right* to exercise that original *right* of thought, and speech, in regard to the affairs of our *own nation*, which we have always, and do still so rightfultully, and so *righteously* exercise, in respect to every thing we may deem either morally or politically wrong, the "world over." If we ever do,

indeed, meanly submit to this degradation, it will then truly be time (as other nations tell us, on account of our slavery,) to be silent forever, about all the "oppressions and the wrongs with which earth is filled."

Could we ever come to this as a people, owing to our unaccountable hatred *of*, and consequent desire to enslave our coloured countrymen, (which may heaven forbid,) a deep sense of our own shame would then forever *terrify* us, should we ever again attempt to name the oppressions of the Greeks, the Poles, or of our neighbours the Canadians, or any other wrongs which we may conceive to be grievously inflicted upon our fellow-men. It is, indeed, a "pretty" doctrine, for recreant senators gravely to inculcate, from the councils of this nation, in order to support the rotten and tottering fabric of slavery, that any people on earth can bind themselves up by constitutions and laws, which they have themselves no moral right whatever to lisp a syllable against.

This would, indeed, then be a free government with a vengeance, just as tyrants would have it—to their own liking, but at the vast expense of the liberties of the people.

SECTION II.

"I AM AS MUCH OPPOSED TO SLAVERY AS ANY ONE, AND THINK IT A GREAT EVIL, BUT WE CAN DO NO GOOD TO DISCUSS IT AT THE NORTH."

THIS objection would seem to pre-suppose that northern hands are not already imbrued in the blood of southern slaves. But let us look at facts in this matter, and see how it stands, whether, indeed, we can with truth lay the flattering unction to our souls, that we are above reproach, or even suspicion on this subject. I know that we have long been wont to compliment ourselves, with great complacency at the north, that because we were not actual slaveholders, and daily accustomed to hear the chains, the handcuffs, and the lash, upon our innocent fellow-countrymen, therefore, we could in no sense whatever be justly implicated in the practice of holding slaves, or be identified with the slaveholder himself. But what have we been doing on this subject, by our representatives in Congress for the last half century? We have always held a majority of votes at the north, and now have forty-four majority in a joint ballot of both Houses of Congress; yet northern votes have been adding slave state to slave state, until seven have been added since the original thirteen were organized, so that our "*free republic*" now stands, made up of fourteen *free* states, and *twelve slave* states, besides the territories and the yet disputed Mexican province. ("Texas," in

fearful prospect of a speedy admission into the Union, notwithstanding the artful truce of the present calm,) as a vast additional vortex of human liberty; unless the north, who now have the right, and the means, will awake in time to prevent so direful a calamity to themselves and their children, to the nation, and to the world, to say nothing of the cruel enslavement of unborn millions of the ill-fated coloured people.

Are any still incredulous about the disposition of a portion of the north to aid the south to perpetuate and to extend the institution of slavery, at almost any sacrifice of the liberties of the people, under the fearfully deceptive pretext that this is the *dernier resort to preserve the Union*? Let such look carefully at the drift of the astounding arguments of northern members in the late Session of Congress on this subject, and also to what speaks louder than arguments, their votes, as recorded on the journals of both houses, as a perpetual memorial of northern subserviency to slaveholding dictation; not only at the late Session of Congress, but at many previous sessions. Look too at the refusal of some to sign petitions to Congress against the annexation of Texas. This is a subject no less tremendous and thrilling than that of human liberty, and facts irresistible should be made to stand out before the people and speak for themselves. Let us ever bear in mind the treacherous manner in which the independence of the revolted Mexican province was acknowledged.

At the late admission of Arkansas into the Union, with its bloody constitution, that slavery never should be abolished within its bounds; SIXTY-THREE northern votes are recorded in its favour, and only FIFTY-THREE against

it; so that the north, of itself, independent of the south, would have given it admission into the Union as a slave state, and that too, with this most extraordinary constitution, with a majority of TEN votes.

It will be borne in mind also, that this is the seventh slave state thus admitted into the Union by the aid of northern influence since the original thirteen were organized. We see, then, how much greater advances slavery and despotism have made in our country, both in regard to the possession of territory and political influence, than freedom. The northern sons of freedom now begin to feel the same iron of oppression which holds in cruel bondage the entire labouring class of the southern portion of our country sinking deeper and deeper into their own souls.

Say not, the north, whether *conscious* or *unconscious* of it, in point of fact, have not long been acting directly for the extension and perpetuation of southern slavery. Let any one look over the Journals of Congress for years past, and then longer wonder if he can, how slaveholders can dare to boast, that what they do not now own of the United States, they soon will own, that is, of the "*labouring class of property.*" There are also, a great variety of sinister interests at the north, not known to all, or not duly considered by them, to induce many to give their influence, either directly or indirectly, fully to the slaveholding interest.

Among many others which will be named hereafter, northern wholesale merchants in our large commercial towns and cities, have been lately found to hold mortgages to the amount of many millions on southern slaves, which accounts in part for so many extensive

failures among some of our wholesaling commercial houses. Large manufacturing, and also many book and printing establishments, are deeply and extensively interested in southern trade.

Many northern public houses of entertainment and places of amusement, such as hotels, theatres, &c., are greatly interested in the *reception of the millions, the price of the blood* of the oppression of this nation paid into their hands, Judas-like, by 50,000 southern patrons annually; northern institutions of learning, having many southern students, whose fathers and friends are slaveholders; numerous national ecclesiastical, as well as political bodies, for fear of division, (each body proudly numbering Israel); numerous individuals at the north having slaveholding relatives, friends, and acquaintances at the south, for fear of alienation; all these, with many other similar causes, — all serve as so many strong barriers of pride, of interest, and of prejudice to the free discussion of slavery, and to the prevalence of the righteous and heaven-approved doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation. Also to these wicked and sinister interests, and to kindred ones, are the sources of nearly all that northern *benevolent* colonization influence, to colonize the troublesome *free people of colour only*, (which so much pleases the speculator in human flesh,) clearly traceable. Whoever doubts this, let him carefully and impartially read Judge "Jay's Inquiries" into the origin and the whole policy of the slaveholding colonizationists, and also to look at the principles and proceedings of this pro-slavery society. It is as wicked and as flagrant a violation of justice, to make the condition of emancipation a "*con-*

sent to be colonized," as it would be to withhold a given amount of stolen property until the robbed man would agree to take an oath that the moment the property of which he was so wickedly robbed, should be restored to him, he would consent to be banished from the country of his birth forever. This is naked American colonization in its most odious deformity. In the effect of all these combined influences, also, do we not at once find a most satisfactory solution to the question : " Why is it that the north have suffered her own citizens to be so often mobbed, and so much abused, for peacefully discussing slavery? In looking over these various interests at the north, every discriminating eye must most clearly discover the line of demarkation between colonization, (alias *anti-abolition*,) and the self-evident doctrine of the righteousness of immediate and unconditional emancipation without expatriation. To name but one single barrier, the mountainous piles of cotton bags, (the price of blood,) in northern commercial towns, apparently as completely shields the consciences of thousands of influential men behind them, from the most powerful and self-evident truths and arguments on this subject, as did the breastworks of General Jackson, of the same material, shield his noble band at New-Orleans from the thousand balls of Packingham. But more of this hereafter.

I verily believe that all these sinister interests and prejudices a just God regards with infinite abhorrence, as supremely selfish and sinful, when they stand in the way of our fulfilling the great golden rule, of doing unto others, as we would that others should do unto us, and that if we will not surrender them voluntarily upon the common

altar of equal and righteous liberty, for the bond and the free, he will soon, in some way that we think not, take them from us by his fearful and holy Omnipotence, and perhaps leave our whole nation in ruins; for he is not the oppressors' God, but the God of the oppressed, and the oppressors' supremely selfish comforts and splendour wrung from the oppressed, he will detest and turn away his face from them forever. The earth is the Lord's and all the fullness thereof.

In what way the Almighty may do this, is not the province of mortals to predict. Suffice it to say, however, that he holds the hearts of all men, and the elements of Heaven and earth in his hand; and he can speedily turn them whithersoever he will. Does it not become this nation to pause, and to consider on its ways?

To all human appearance at present, (unless the great body of the farmers and mechanics, and all others who are disencumbered and independent of these fearfully ominous and dangerous influences, will look at the condition of our country in time, and at once unitedly step forward and save it,) all our liberties will soon be subverted and drawn into one great common vortex of national slavery. All this may be adroitly brought about, and still the mere *form* of a free government retained.

While men are towering and prosperous, they are very prone to flatter themselves that their mountain stands strong, and that no power can move it. But it stands out upon the pages of revelation, as well as upon the annals of all time, — both for our warning and for our instruction, — that “pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.” All history and biography have proved this declaration unexceptionably true.

and as equally applicable to nations as to individuals. The wicked are ensnared in the work of their own hands. "Though hand join in hand, they shall not go unpunished."

And unless public sentiment at the North can be speedily corrected and purified, by a dissemination of many important truths among the people, in relation to the influence and bearing of the existence of slavery upon their own liberties, as well as to apprize them of the untold miseries of the enslaved, it is greatly to be feared that a kindred portion of the North to the South, will unite with Southern influence in finishing the climax of ruin to the liberties of the country by the annexation of Texas, both as a vast slave mart and as a vast balance of Southern slaveholding political power, settled down upon all the crushed rights of the people forever.

Northern liberties would then most assuredly be sacrificed to Southern slavery; for slavery would then rule the nation, and the North especially, with a rod of iron.

I know it is said, both by the ignorant as well as by the designing, that "*you abolition agitators will dissolve the Union.*" But nay — what does the skillful and faithful surgeon do, when called to examine a deep, dangerous, and festering wound, which would of itself, if let alone, speedily destroy the whole system? Does he not at once probe the wound, in this stage of it, to the very bottom, in hopes to save the life at least, of the suffering patient?

Let no friend to humanity and lover of his country flatter himself, that the last vestige of slavery in the United States, how much soever the just and righteous doctrine of unconditional and immediate emancipation

be **MORALLY** enforced, will be the work of a moment ; or that it can ever be effected, but by a just, enlightened, philanthropic, and patriotic public sentiment throughout the North and the South, and the East and the West, with the blessing of Heaven superadded.

Let no abolitionist, in his holy warfare against all the dreadful oppressions of his fellow-countrymen, dare place his weight upon any other lever, than that which is firmly fixed upon all his constitutional and inalienable rights, and the eternal and immutable principles of truth.

If this great constitutional and moral lever, with its fulcrum thus placed, cannot overturn the awful **MOLOCH OF SLAVERY** in our land, it will only prove, that as a people, the measure of our iniquity is full, and that we are given over to our own destruction, to reap the reward of our own doings ; probably by universal anarchy, or by absolute slaveholding despotism over us all. When we have looked at the numerous unrebuked mobs in the land, for the last few years, we have thought the former the most probable ; — but when we look at the alarming slaveholding and pro-slavery *gag-law* resolutions, lately passed in the dark councils of this nation, against the freedom of speech and the right of petition, the latter, if either be our fate, would seem nearest. Still, in any event, those, and those only will be safe, who shall ever be found on the most elevated and holy ground, advocating the great, immutable, and eternal rights of **GOD AND MAN**, for the **LORD** is a “buckler, and a shield to those who walk **UPRIGHTLY.**” “**HE WILL BE THEIR STRENGTH, AND THEIR VERY PRESENT HELP IN TIME OF NEED.**”

Indeed, whatever calamity or judgement may fall upon us as a nation, when we consider our long and dread-

ful oppressions of so large a portion of our own unoffending countrymen, what could we say, but that the just, but fearful sentiment, "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," would be but fully verified in us.

"But let us, as a whole people, put away our abominations from under the insulted heavens, and we may still humbly and safely trust in God, labour to do his will, to promote his cause, and fear no danger.

We must, as a NATION, destroy slavery; or SLAVERY will destroy us, as a NATION. There can be no alternative! Then which will we choose, to destroy the MONSTER, or to be destroyed by him? Who does not know that the plausible pretext, either political or ecclesiastical, which tyrants in the world, have ever made for muzzling the press and in every way suppressing the general diffusion of free principles among the people, has always been their *heterodox*, or their incendiary character? Many attempts among the people, at important reform in the world, have been checked and put down for a time by the cry — *incendiary!* — or, — *heterodoxy!!* when tyrants held the power, or could make the people believe it, and thereby to become directly instrumental in the entire subversion of their own liberties. But let the truth be told, how much soever it may be contradicted or perverted, either by ignorant, or by interested and designing men.

Slavery was the *beginning* of the whole Texan affair. And unless the people of the north (for I have little hope from southern politicians and slaveholders on this subject) will awake in time to their true interests as well as that of the nation, slavery will, on a *broad scale*, and having to do with materials of a lighter hue than

usual, be the end of it. I am aware that I may be told here, that the cupidity of "land sharks" was a cause anterior to this. But let it ever be remembered, that those who would steal a PROVINCE FROM MEXICO are still unwilling to possess it, unless they can be privileged with stealing men also from Africa or from the United States to cultivate the stolen province for them, that they may themselves riot in ease and luxury. And they have the effrontery, too, to ask the high sanction of this nation to all this, and propose that the good people of this whole amalgamated Union may participate in the booty.

And what have these freebooters had the audacity, before the world, to ask us to do, as a nation? Why! nothing less than to become a partner with them in wresting, by stealth, a vast and valuable province from our neighbouring nation, who has internal troubles enough of her own already, and with whom, by sacred treaty before the nations and before Heaven, we are under the highest and the most solemn obligations to live in amity and to cultivate peace, and to extend to her a moral instead of an immoral influence. But this proposed partnership is not to stop here, but must extend to the rendering of this ill-gotten possession into a vast aceldama of human misery and blood. We are to become, as a nation, instrumental in extending the chains of slavery, perhaps for ever, where it does not now exist, and thus to give it a new and a powerful impulse through the states, where its end seemed to be drawing nigh.

We are thus, as a nation too, to be made to give a most powerful impetus, both to the foreign and to the

domestic traffic in our own flesh and blood. O, for the memory of the illustrious dead! for our country's honour! for the sake of our children and posterity, the down-trodden millions, and the world, may a righteous Heaven forbid it!

Texas was settled principally by southern men, many of whom were deeply interested in slavery; and we heard of no uneasiness or disposition among them to revolt until Mexico, probably actuated by her free principles, which effected her own independence in her liberation from Spain, set all her slaves at liberty. This, of course, embraced the eight thousand slaves held by the Texans. And do we then hear that the slaves abused their freedom, by turning about and massacring all their masters? No! although they owed their liberation to no good will of theirs.

This whole Texan business is all perfectly understood in the British parliament as being wholly a slaveholding concern; and a motion was made in that body, in the winter of 1837, to call for the documents relative to all the negotiations with the United States and Mexico on this subject. The motion was lost by thirteen votes only, on the ground alone that it was premature, founded in the confidence that the American Congress, then in session, would be influenced by that part of the President's message recommending no hasty acknowledgement of the independence of Texas. This rash act of Congress, under all the peculiar circumstances, was as shocking to the moral world as it was unexpected. But it is only an additional evidence of the all-powerful and controlling slaveholding influence in this nation.

The whole Texan subject, in all its relations, and the course which this government has pursued towards the revolted province of Mexico, and also to Mexico itself will unquestionably undergo a strict and jealous investigation in the British parliament at no very distant period; for every member in that house, without an exception, who spoke on that subject, entered his most decided and solemn protest to Texas ever being annexed to the United States as a slave country. On such an event England would probably shake hands with Mexico, unless pacified with a fair portion of our northern domain, as a kind of set-off for our unwarrantable encroachments upon the rights of a third power to maintain our slavery.

France, too, might not be an idle spectator upon such a scene; for she, too, would have conflicting interests. The relative location of Texas to the colonies of Great Britain on this continent, aside from the deep abhorrence of slavery among her people, would of itself be sufficient to induce her interference. But all these, and other causes, would combine to render her hostile to such an outrage upon the self-evident rights of so large a portion of the human family.

It may be asked, what right has Great Britain to interfere in our affairs? I answer, she has an unquestionable MORAL right to interfere (if this can be called interference), in the free expression of her opinions, as all nations and all individuals have, and by right ought to have, forever. Great Britain, moreover, has a political right to say something in this matter, not only because it might endanger the liberties of her contiguous emancipated islands, but, more expressly by virtue of the 10th article of the treaty of Ghent, whether

known to all Americans or not, it would doubtless be remembered by England and by the civilized world, should a crisis arrive which would call it up before their gaze, to our great national shame! It would then be distinctly seen by the nations, that while the genius of American editors, on the one hand, had been prolific in manufacturing high-wrought encomiums upon their own country, often *emphatically and boastfully styling it "the asylum of the oppressed, where every man is his own master;"* and on the other, that their presses had teemed with articles aiming at the discredit of the English government, while that government, with all its wrongs, is still very far ahead of ours in the great cause of emancipation. Yet there are those among us who seem to think it still becomes the American press to denounce abolitionists; and, directly or indirectly, to advocate slavery; and thunder all its anathemas against the comparatively light oppressions of some foreign powers. The exact words of the treaty alluded to are the following:—

“ARTICLE TENTH.

“Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas both his majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition; it is therefore agreed, that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.”

As an indication of the present state of feeling among the people of Great Britain on the subject of slavery, Lord Brougham has just given notice of his intention to move, in the house of peers, a series of resolutions

pledging the government to a more active suppression of the slave traffic. One of these resolutions is to the effect, that her majesty be requested to take immediate measures to obtain the concurrence of the United States in negotiations, with a view to declare the traffic in slaves, piracy.

How does this appear alongside of Calhoun's and Patton's resolutions, just passed in the Congress of the United States by overwhelming majorities, not to suppress the dreadful slave traffic in our country, at which the civilized country revolts, but to suppress the right of speech, and the right of petition of American citizens, on the whole subject of American slavery, even in the District of Columbia and the territories, and on the rejection of Texas as a slave state? Who must not hear, in all this, our expiring constitution shrieking for help?

Did American politicians violate our sacredly plighted national faith with Great Britain before Heaven and earth, when, after indirectly aiding Texas in its revolt from Mexico, next very hastily to acknowledge its independence, preparatory, if possible, to its speedy admission into the Union as a vast slave market? Did our recreant politicians in Congress violate this solemn treaty on human liberty in the winter of 1838, when they passed resolutions to trample upon the people's petitions to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia? Did the nation, or did they not, violate this treaty when they elected their President on his bold and unheard-of declaration to the world, that, if elected, he should, on the ground of "expediency," (that is, to disregard northern views, and humbly bow in reverence to the great slaveholding interest,) VETO ANY BILL FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA?

While I have spoken thus plainly upon what I greatly regret, and consider altogether unwarrantable, in our present chief magistrate, to make himself President of the United States, let me not be thought in this matter as acting in the least from party considerations, either in favour or against the present administration; for I just as freely give it as my opinion, that such is the slaveholding power in this nation at present, that to my mind it remains in great doubt, whether, if not Mr. Van Buren, some other candidate for the Presidency, may not yet go much farther, in loading the oppressed with still heavier chains, and in compromising the liberties of the nominally free to slaveholders, to exalt himself to power. But I envy not that man, whoever he might be, either his honour or his peace.

It remains to be seen, whether the people can yet be so far deluded by the vain cry of "UNION," as to consent to have themselves, their posterity, Union and all, fully mortgaged forever to slaveholders by "gambling politicians."

It should be known, that "Union" would be the watchword from ambitious politicians seeking promotion from slaveholders, until the very chains of the coloured man are fully riveted upon white men. Ambitious and artful politicians, in all countries, have thus deceived the people, and sported with their liberties, adroitly holding up before their eyes some prominent object of their greatest attachment, and in this way "keeping flattering promises good to the ear, but breaking them to their hope." Demagogues care little for colour, if they can but accomplish their ambitious designs.

While the vast slaveholding power remains upon the nation, the road to the Presidential chair must necessarily be a crooked, a dishonest, and a dishonourable one ; and the chair itself consequently dishonoured with a dishonourable occupant. My meaning is, that while the slaveholders are constantly making demands of the north, and dishonourable both to the north, the south, and the nation, that the people must surrender their right of speech and petition to support slavery, that I do not see how any honest or honourable man can be President of the AMALGAMATED SLAVEHOLDING AND NON-SLAVEHOLDING UNION.

I hope and believe, that all true abolitionists, at least who feel for the millions of our countrymen in bonds and who know that the liberties also of the whole nation bond and free, are far more involved in the slavery and the anti-slavery subjects, than in the sub-treasury or anti sub-treasury, bank or anti-bank questions of the day, will be watchful that they be not themselves sold into the political shambles.

The people should always, by all means, well know to whom they give their suffrages.

If we cannot exercise the elective franchise in favour of rational liberty for ourselves, at least, (if not to say in behalf of the liberties of our coloured countrymen also,) we had far better remain at our farms, our shops, and our merchandise, than to go to the polls to vote away our own liberties.

The plea that one candidate for office is a better man than another, while he is known to be deadly hostile to rational and equal liberty for all mankind, is a vain and deceptive one.

Calhoun and Patton say, by their most contemptible resolutions, let us *choke* these fanatical abolitionists, so that they can neither petition, speak, nor hardly breathe. "No! no!" says the politest man of CLAY; "if you take this very rash course, Mr. Calhoun, you will certainly make abolitionists of the north to a man. My method, Mr. Calhoun," continues this more insinuating gentleman, "is to treat this 'delicate' business very gentle and easy, and in some way or other just slyly fence out these fanatics from among our friends at the north, lest they sow the seeds of truth among them, and thereby cause discord in our northern pro-slavery ranks. It must be done, Mr. Calhoun," says this same polite and experienced Senator, "in some unaccountable way, — so *adroitly* as not to '*produce agitation*:' so that the people generally would not even mistrust, that when we get Texas added to our power, we shall then soon serve them all according to your notion of dealing with agitators, and all the *labouring class of human property*, which, when suffered to run at large without drivers, are so annoying and so troublesome to slaveholders at the south, and to capitalists and to all aristocrats at the north." — "Be gentle, Mr. Calhoun," says this skilful man, "and you may even lead an elephant by a hair."

Now, northern men called free, who are willing still to be duped and served up either by Calhoun's broad carving-knife, or Clay's keen razor, are, of course, at liberty to submit themselves to these skilful operators; but if they do, a wo will doubtless fall upon them and their country: for, let us not be deceived, the issue is joined, — there can be no alternative: **SLAVERY** for all,

or FREEDOM for all in this nation, is near at hand and inevitable. Nothing will have power in this trying crisis to cheat the people out of their liberties, except, perchance, that charming and magic sound "Union," which may be like the *ignis fatuus*, or the syren song.

Should it prove that the people shall think more even of the "Union," than they do of the inalienable rights of conscience and the freedom of opinion, the funeral knell of their liberties will be tolled, if they still possessed a "Union" of territory as vast as creation.

The Hon. John Quincy Adams, in his speech on the Texan and Indian wars, remarked, "that if we would wage war to handcuff and fetter our fellow-men, Great Britain would wage war against us to break their chains. And what a figure should we make in the eyes of all mankind," said our venerable ex-President, "in deadly conflict with Great Britain; she fighting the battles of emancipation and freedom, and we the battles of slavery:—she the benefactress, and we the oppressor of mankind?"

This disposition to extend the dark dominions of slavery as an institution, or engine of despotical political power, at a vast sacrifice of human freedom, both for the enslaved and the free, is the only cause of the commotion of these variously contending elements. Must we not see, then, the dangers which slavery exposes us to, both at home and from abroad. And who that loves his country, and sees this, will not raise the warning voice,—sound the note of alarm!—and use, at least, his "ounce" of timely prevention before it be forever too late?

When we see certain ruin approaching us, unless timely averted, although we may think it at some distance:

from us, shall we, like one who "should hold a penny so near his eye that he could not see a dollar across the house," either sit down in perfect apathy, or in vainly triumphing in our security, crying, "peace, peace; and still folding our arms to rest?"

All admit that the horrid monster 'slavery' must ere long be met; but many yet cower and shrink away, and dread to grapple with him.

The subject of Texas being connected as it is, so entirely with the great interests of southern slavery, is rapidly and most fearfully assuming an alarming aspect to the friends of freedom. *Be it remembered, that a dead calm often immediately precedes the hurricane, or the earthquake.*

The abhorrence to the foreign slave traffic so adroitly exhibited in the Texan constitution, commends itself as was designed, to the cupidity of the whole southern slavery interest. It was virtually saying to all the southern growers and sellers of the souls and bodies of men for "filthy lucre's sake," we greatly need and must have your aid to sustain us against our legitimate government, "Mexico." Extend a helping hand now, in this our time of greatest need, and by our constitution we will swear allegiance to your slave interest forever; that is, that we will utterly refuse to bring any human beings that may be brought to us by water from Africa, but will buy at a good price all the droves of "human cattle" from Virginia, Maryland, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, &c. &c.

This is the plain English of the Texan constitution, with which she and her southern confederates, and I fear a few northern ones, are most earnestly, but at pre-

sent somewhat covertly (until the project shall be fully matured for a bold and open execution,) seeking and pressing her admission into this Union, contrary to the constitution and the laws of nations; and calling upon northern freemen to lend themselves to help on this nefarious business of making merchandise of their fellow-men, and thus to effect the enslavement and ruin of others not only, but of themselves and of their whole country also.

It speaks volumes to northern ears, and "he that hath an ear to hear, will he not hear?"

Many of the disaffected and unrighteously revolting Texans, being originally a part of a slaveholding community, and understanding well its "peculiar institutions," knew precisely what strings of interested sympathy to play upon, to produce a harmonious southern response. But it is not greatly to be hoped that such music of chains and shackles upon innocent men and women will not much longer sound very delightful to ears north of Mason and Dixon's line; that is, that men who boast of living in nominally free states, would act like freemen indeed, and testify loudly and in earnest against the cruel enslavement of their fellow-men, especially in their own country and before their own eyes.

In truth, the southern prints, for years before the Texan revolt, had been at times indirectly discussing the feasibility, and also the immense southern advantage which would result from such a measure. Says Dr. Channing in his late letter to Henry Clay, "slavery and fraud lay at the very foundation of the Texan revolt;" and continues this man with the mind of an enlightened statesman, and the heart of a disinterested patriot and

philanthropist, the cause and the motives which led to this revolt, were so notorious, that it is wonderful that any among us "*could have been cheated into sympathy for the Texan cause, as the cause of freedom.*" And who cannot see now, since the first Texan draught upon our unintelligible sympathies, has by us been honoured, and our first impulses of interest has measurably subsided, that it is indeed notorious, as this celebrated man justly remarks, that land speculators, slaveholders, and selfish adventurers, were among the foremost to engage in the crusade for Texan liberties; and from the hands of these he continues, we are invited to receive a province, torn from a country to which we have given pledges of amity and peace. The argument that the Texans had sufficient cause to revolt on account of the Catholic religion of the Mexican empire, amounts to just this; that a few Americans, for example, well knowing beforehand the religion of England, would be justifiable to settle in some part of the British dominions, and immediately revolt on account of what they well knew existed before they became citizens of the country. Would not this be, for example, too much like Catholics or any other people coming into our country, and knowing our institutions before they came, but the moment they become citizens, revolt on account of them? Not only this, but it is not so in point of fact, that the religion of the country, was the moving cause of the famous Texan revolt, for the contrary of this can be most abundantly proved. The religion of the country is now well known to have had little or nothing to do with the Texan revolt; but the reasons, as before stated, are now seldom attempted to be controverted.

And is it not to be feared, that unless the north can be made to see her true interests in time as well as that of the whole nation, and speak out with a voice that shall make demagogues and tyrants tremble, that there will be those at the north with an object still to succumb to southern slavery interest, to secure southern favour for their own private advantage and power, by lending their influence to the south, to give this stolen Mexican province admission into our Union, for the special benefit of slaveholders and land speculators, and thereby deliberately and sacrilegiously sell the liberties of the north into the hands of southern slaveholders?

It has been openly said even by some at the north, that Texas must be annexed to the Union, to throw the balance of power into the hands of slaveholders, to put down abolitionists, and thus make an end of mobs.

What independent American citizens, being lovers of that free government by the people for which their fathers bled and died, must not behold with pain and alarm the ominous and fearful signs of the times, when some prominent northern divines and politicians are already openly and publicly advocating a despotic government as they pretend, as the only remedy for mobs! A pretty remedy this for mobs!! Who does not know that a mixed government, partly free, and partly despotic, is always composed of the *form* of free government, with the frequent outbreaks of uncontrolled and unpunished *small* mobs; but that a purely despotic government, which I greatly fear the immense slaveholding interest is rapidly plunging this nation into, to maintain its despotic power, is composed of one vast and irresist-

tible mob continually and wantonly outraging all the rights of man at its pleasure, when there is none to deliver!

Says that able and indefatigable champion of human rights, William Goodell, Esq. on this subject, "true democracy and mobocracy, are opposites, and cannot exist together. That all who favour mobs (however democratic in their professions,) will ultimately throw their influence on the side of "despotic governments." That every apologist of slavery is on the side of despotic power, and is highly gratified to witness its strides over the constitution and the laws of a free people. That those who care nothing for the liberty of southern slaves, care nothing for the liberty of northern freemen. That mobs, and slavery, and despotic governments, are children of the same parent; and that those who favour the one, will also favour the other. That the supremacy of the laws, the liberty of the free, and the emancipation of the enslaved, *are confederated and identical interests, which must triumph together, or be buried in one common grave!* That all true republicans must be active abolitionists, — and finally, that the preservation of our country from "despotic government," can only be secured by the steady and persevering support of "the anti-slavery enterprise."

Let the people carefully watch the movements of public men, and listen to the tone of the public press, and see if dark and insidious preparations are not most adroitly being made to harden the heart of this nation systematically to sustain, and if possible forever to settle down upon us the despotic power of slavery, and then judge whether the above fearful predictions may not

verily prove too true. And the captivating pretext for all this, will be the preservation of the Union, which we should all idolize, but on conditions only that it can be sustained in connexion with rational liberty for all. That liberty for which our fathers fought and bled; that liberty, too, for which a SAVIOUR suffered and died.

However this dreadful traffic in human flesh and human souls may appear to us, it is entered into by men who have become inured to it, both for pecuniary and for political purposes, in as cool blood and with as much foresight and deliberation, as we would look for a market for our cattle, or for any other articles of traffic. But the very climax of iniquity and treachery in all this is, that one freeman is found aiding in selling other freemen by the wholesale. O! who cannot blush at this! "and hang his head to think himself a man?" Still there are beings bearing the "external" forms of men, who would have the hardihood and effrontery to call such a MAN a 'fanatic.' But be it remembered, this is all done to maintain tyrannical power over the people.

I am, indeed, entirely unable to conceive how any one short of imbibing the idea that man is on a level with the brute, can for a moment, give even his passive or negative assent to the horrid business of enslaving his fellow-man, and bartering him, both by wholesale and retail, like beasts of burden, upon any pretext of such shocking and revolting expediency whatever. And after imbibing this most debasing doctrine to human beings, that "immortal" man is, indeed, on a level with the beasts of the field, "that tend downward and perish," it would still be abhorrent to all the moral sense of our

natures, to behold any rank or order of beings with no provocation, "deliberately and wantonly worrying and devouring each other," or for 'filthy lucre's sake,' cruelly trafficking in its own species. Even sharks and tigers do not do this!

The whole institution of slavery, at the South, is principally sustained by four classes of interested men, viz: 'the slave growers;' the 'slave-sellers;' the 'slave-buyers,' at the far South and Southwest; and most of all, and "most to be deplored," by political demagogues, who are aiming to extend and perpetuate the despotic system of slavery, with all its tyranny and moral abominations, and great and unequal advantages of representation, as a means of permanent and political ascendancy over the North.

Slaveholders have always used every art to frighten the North into servile compliance; but they never intend to leave the Union, so long as they already have the Union in their hands; and by the grateful help of *kindred spirits* at the North, (with their motto, "Love of Union, run up at mast-head,") are still grasping it firmer and firmer, into their own tyrannical power.

Says the northern aristocrat (and slaveholder's abettor,) to northern freemen, "give up your right of speech, and your right of petition, to slaveholders, for the great love which you have for the Union." This has ever been the cry, and will be, if slavery continues, until the very chains on two and a half millions of our countrymen, are clanking at our own heels. This may seem visionary to some; but let it be remembered, that despotism has always insidiously stolen upon the people, like a thief in the night.

That no people was ever reduced, at once, from a state of rational freedom, or just and equal rights, to a state of entire subserviency and vassalage to tyrants; and that the liberties of a people have ever been most endangered when the mass least suspected it: even as the stupor or the calmness of easy repose has often immediately preceded the near approach of the "grim monster," death!

SECTION III.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE IT MAKES AN EXCITEMENT."

Would it not be surprising if this objection should have the least weight with any, except persons with extremely weak nerves? — For all history shows us that no great and valuable reformation, either moral or political, was ever accomplished in the world, without more or less agitation and excitement. I mean a manly, and not a brutal excitement. This is but the very natural result, arising from the adverse and opposing interests and influences it meets in its progress. Some persons, however, appear to be very "delicately strung" on some subjects — with nerves of brass on others. People's liking or disliking excitement, depends altogether on circumstances. Indeed, the principles of human nature, and the very complex fabric of human society, would at once seem to render all this jarring of adverse elements, to an intelligent mind, a matter of no surprise.

Reform of no kind, in any age of the world, was ever carried forward without opposing the appetites or passions, the interests or prejudices of men, in every step that was taken. There is, indeed, a natural and a moral impossibility, that any valuable reformation can be effected without it. We might as well expect torrents of rain to come down out of a clear sky. Look, for example, at the temperance reform in our land. Has

there not been more or less excitement, at times, ever since its first commencement, for the reasons just mentioned? You may say, "perhaps not as great as on the subject of slavery." I answer, that the evils of intemperance in our land, as great as they are, or have been, bear little comparison to my apprehension to the *present*, and still less to the *prospective* evils of slavery. Intemperance, though a gangrene upon the body politic, has never so entirely entwined itself around all our institutions, anaconda-like, North and South, and bound us, as it were, for the executioner; and thereby, so greatly endangered all our liberties, as has the institution of slavery in our country. In their moral turpitude, intemperance to slaveholding, bears about the same relation as suicide does to murder.

But now let us consider, a moment, the cause of excitements, and endeavour to see where the blame lies, whenever there is any blame to be attached to any one. I am fully aware, for instance, that it is tauntingly said by some, that abolitionists have been the cause of all the excitement and outrages growing out of it, which have, of late, so greatly disgraced our land. Now grant all that the accuser would ask, that it is even so! What then? Let us inquire a moment, who has been the lawful, constitutional, and innocent cause; and who the unlawful, and unconstitutional, and guilty cause. Every body now grants, (except slaveholding and proslavery politicians, or otherwise interested people,) that abolitionists, in all their proceedings, have kept within the laws and the constitution. The very fact, that reckless mobocrats have resorted to unlawful and violent means to put down abolitionists, and thereby prevent

the discussion of slavery, is of itself "prima facie" evidence that all such mobocrats were conscious that they possessed no lawful or constitutional means whatever, of accomplishing their direful purposes. The truth is, that that great principle of the American constitution, that every human being is possessed of an inborn right to think and speak his sentiments freely, — which no human power gave, or can take away, — stands out in "bold relief," above all other principles ; and is also impressed with indelible and self-evident testimony, upon the heart and the conscience of every man. It is there, as written in a sun-beam with the point of a diamond, and every man does violence to his very nature, who even attempts to erase it, or deny it. He might as well attempt to annihilate his very being. It was identified with the constitution of man, by the hand of his Maker ; and what God hath joined together, let no man profanely and tyrannically attempt to sunder. At the time of the preaching of Christ and the apostles, there was at times, great excitement. When Demetrius, the silver-smith, assembled his craft, and proclaimed to them that their business was endangered by the preaching of Paul, was there not excitement ?

But suppose it be said that reformers themselves, as well as their opposers, are sometimes excited : what then ? If those who set themselves up to be reformers should ever be excited to be guilty of acts of lawless violence, this indeed, would be greatly to be lamented, and utterly to be deprecated by all good men. And all who should be actuated by any such spirit, would have great reason to doubt either the justness of their cause, or whether they were fit instruments to accomplish the

work. The only weapons in reform should be "light and love;" and even these never should be unlawfully wielded. This, however, never can impair that great first principle of a right of self-defence from lawless aggressions. The right, however, I think, should never be exercised except in extreme and aggravated cases, for it is certainly better to suffer wrong than to do wrong, and we may undoubtedly do wrong even in the exercise of this high and most sacred right. It must, after all, be a question between ourselves, our Maker, and our country. Here we are compelled to leave it, for no definite or invariable cases can perhaps well be prescribed. We must learn wisdom from experience, and from our friends and our foes. We know that our enemies, led on by the famous Captain Lynch, rudely assailed us with the ignoble weapons of stones, brick-bats, &c.; nay! even with more deadly weapons; but being sorely pierced by the arrows of truth, they have fled in confusion, and are now sullenly "beating the bush." And unless we can draw them out into a general engagement, into an "open field fight" to contend with us manfully in honourable warfare, it is to be feared they may yet rally their brute force, and by surprise, surround us and vanquish us. Let us therefore, induce them if possible, to come out and measure swords of truth and argument with us, pledging ourselves to them, that by these weapons alone we shall stand, or by these alone we shall fall. Truth and love shall still be inscribed on our banner, but this banner, as the last hope of freedom, both for "the bond and the free," must still and forever fearlessly wave over the soil of the brave sons of Columbia, while all who rally

around its standard, must look up with confidence to the God of the oppressed, and to the God of holy freedom for its ultimate triumphant success, as in the late dreadful treagedy at Alton, Illinois, when that martyr to truth, to liberty, and his country, fell, by base and murderous hands, while acting in every sense according to the great lawful and constitutional principle of self-defence, (the existence of which principle, no man disputes, who thinks it right to sustain civil government by physical means.)

The position of defence is considered, however, by many abolitionists, on the part of Lovejoy and his associates, practically to have been a departure from primitive abolition principles, as adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society; but these principles are only, that they would not encourage the *oppressed* to gain *their* liberty by physical force. Anti-slavery men, as a body, have never compromised their own liberties. Abolitionists, on the extreme point of acting in defence of their own rights, as on other subjects, probably may differ somewhat among themselves. Those who have adopted the peace principles fully, I believe, think it morally right in no case whatever to use carnal weapons, even in self-defence. Others think that such weapons belong only to the civil magistrate. But this does not alter the fact that Lovejoy was most *emphatically sacrificed* a martyr by bloody hands for the great cause of freedom and his country. The enemies of freedom will persecute her friends, whatever principle they may act upon. Had he saved his life at this time by flight, as he previously had done in a number of instances, his mean mobocratic enemies would have readily called him

a coward, and at once proclaimed him recreant to his cause and his country. Had he died with a pen in his hand, instead of a *gun*, the enemies of rational and constitutional liberty would still have profanely said, as they had already even dared to do, "that he died as the fool dieth." "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they said he hath a devil." "The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they said, behold a man gluttonous, and a wine bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." Query. "If we shall say from heaven: he will say, why then did ye not believe in him? But if we shall say of men, they feared the people: for all men counted John that he was a prophet indeed."

I noticed a sentence in a pro-slavery journal, severely condemnatory of the course of this martyr, for the oppressed, and for the dearest rights of his countrymen. It was in these words: "Like many other *partially converted* men, Mr. Lovejoy saw the evil of slavery; but when the spirit led him to the cross, he *stumbled and fell*:" whether it be right in any possible case to resort to physical means for self-defence, is not here the question at issue. One thing is certain, that if it be justifiable at all, it is equally so for one as for another, whether ministers, laymen, or neither. Another fact is equally self-evident, which is, that the cause in which Lovejoy "*stumbled and fell*," is a cause as much higher and holier than even that in which so many of our dear fathers, like Lovejoy, "*stumbled, bled, and fell*," to give us their sons liberty, as the cruel iron of oppression is sunk deeper into the souls of two and a half millions of our enslaved and suffering countrymen, than it was into theirs. What honest man in his senses can deny this

to be a fair inference? And as it regards the unkind reference to the dead, as in the words "partially converted." May heaven save the nation from any kind of *full* conversion, that would make us love slavery; or rather not to hate it, in the same holy sense that David did the wicked, with a perfect hatred. But may it be remembered, that the answer to the enigma of this kind of hatred, is "Love to God supreme, to man universal."

The principle couched in that invidious language, "that Lovejoy died as the fool dieth," is plainly this, that an unprincipled and infuriated mob, whether sober or intoxicated, it matters not, if they happen to make up the majority of their community for the moment, whether that community be a city, a village, or a neighbourhood, have a perfect right to trample all written laws and constitutions under their riotous feet, and at once sacrifice property, life, and all before them, to gratify their heaven-daring malice. If this mobocratic principle, which is but the very essence and spirit of slaveholding, lynching, duelling, &c., could once fully obtain the ascendancy in the public mind, there would at once forever be an end to all order and security for property, for liberty, or for life; for the written constitution and all the statute laws of the land, would then no longer be better than blank paper. They would then, indeed, be held up as beacons only, to invite to blood and crime. Mob law would then become the order of the day. As to excitement or zeal, which shall be according to knowledge, in a good cause, we all know it to be not only sanctioned, but encouraged in the Scriptures. It is also indispensable in effecting any valuable reformation in the world. Indeed, we all generally question the sincerity of men espousing any

cause, if they manifest no zeal in it; and such seldom gain a hearing. And how can men expect others to feel an interest in a cause in which its professed advocates or adherents manifest no interest in themselves. Leading politicians call upon all *their* followers to do with their might what their hands find to do, and why not philanthropists and Christians? If men, in promoting a good cause, pursue their object zealously and perseveringly, but peacefully and lawfully, and such proceedings call forth excited, ill-tempered, and sometimes violent and lawless opposition, who can be justly chargeable with improper excitement? If we say the former, then surely our Saviour himself, and all his apostles, might justly have been often arraigned before the bar of Cæsar.

The time has already arrived in our country, when some "*gentlemen of property and of standing,*" who were once found actually engaged to accomplish their sinister ends, in opposing and abusing by violence the friends of constitutional freedom and free discussion, are now, no doubt, "ashamed of it," and wish they had been otherwise, and more honourably and usefully employed, for their own credit, and for the honour and welfare of their country.

And the time cannot be far distant, unless freedom in our beloved land is destined to be cloven down, and our liberties entirely subverted, and aristocracy and despotism to reign triumphant, when those houses at the north which continue much longer to be bolted and barred by slaveholding abettors, against the bleeding cause, and the claims of suffering humanity, will probably be regarded in history, in a light somewhat as were those that

were closed against our revolutionary fathers, while so nobly contending for their rights, their liberties, and for the independence of our common country. "These things are not now seen, but the end is not yet." Now, if the opposers of the cause, and the hosts of apathetic neutrals, are indeed at heart, what they say they are, opposed to slavery, why will they not, in some way, manifest their abhorrence to it, in a manner that shall tell upon the hearts and the consciences of slaveholders? And what are we most painfully compelled to conclude if they will not do it? If ye are not for me, ye are against me, saith the Saviour of the world. Southern politicians, while trampling on our petitions, claim, as a reason, that the north are not opposed to slavery, and northern politicians, as well as some who lay claim to a more sacred name, practically respond, Amen!

We often hear it adduced as a reason why nothing should be said or done on the subject of slavery in our country, because it is an exciting subject; whereas, of all reasons conceivable, this very reason is the most powerful one, why we should both *say* and *do* much on the subject. What! shall I be gravely told that I must neither say nor do any thing to rescue my brother in the last struggle of sinking into a watery grave, because it is an exciting subject, and I shall alarm the people? Am I to be told, in cool blood, to hush up! when I attempt to cry fire! — when my wife, my children, my all, are just to be enveloped by the devouring flames?

Had the wife and the children, in "fond expectancy," around the dear fireside of the late lamented Mr. Lyman, recently so basely murdered in Rochester in sight of his own door, discovered, in time, the cold-blooded

and fiend-like destroyer lurking behind his ill-fated victim, under cover of darkness, with the instrument of instant death in his hand, — they must give no alarm for fear of excitement! Or, could the now disconsolate and widowed wives, and the dear orphaned children of the recently murdered Cilley and Lovejoy, have interposed the affectionate hand just in time to ward off the deadly shaft of the assassin, when pointed at the heart of their beloved husbands and fathers, they should not have done so for fear of excitement? I have not coupled these two cases of shocking murder because I thought them parallel, for indeed I consider them far otherwise; but still slavery, with its legitimate spirit and influence, caused the untimely death of both of these highly valuable American citizens. By a somewhat remarkable coincidence, Maine has first been called to make the sacrifice of her two sons upon the bloody altar of slavery. The demon code of slavery slew one by the hand of the vile rabble, the other by the hand of the “vile gentleman.” They were both slain by base assassins, of different grades only, for “words spoken in debate.” If law-makers will not sacredly protect the lives of all the subjects of law while in the exercise of constitutional rights, what can *they* expect but themselves to fall, in *their* turn, by lawless and bloody hands?

The truth is, that our Creator has wisely and beneficently endowed us all with natures, capable of sympathy or excitement, for the most valuable and benevolent ends, to prompt us to effect our own, and one another's safety and welfare, by every just and righteous means. Some who talk about excitement, seem to speak of it as a kind

of monster in human nature. The very fact, that the subject of slavery is so exciting, is at once proof positive, that the happiness, the liberty, and the lives, not of one or two only, but of millions of our fellow-beings, are every moment imminently jeopardized by it.

Why was the cause so exciting which prompted the magnanimous spirits of the Revolution to arise to action almost as one man? Was it not that liberty was endangered? And had not the noble natures of our illustrious sires been liberally endowed with the elements of this invaluable ingredient, controlled, as it ever should be, by virtue, by patriotism, by intelligence and skill, might we not now have been the mere vassals of some cruel despot over us, where the very first breath of "*excitement*" for freedom, might have been "legally" and instantly punished with death? for, even in this boasted land of the free, and in these ominous times of unhallowed, despotic, or mobocratic liberty, the desire for the same doctrine of tyrants to be settled upon us for ever, has been more than hinted at by some petty despots among us, asserting that to even ask for freedom is a political crime, worthy the infliction of pains and penalties, to deprive us of those inborn rights of "thought and speech" which first we derived from the very author of our being; and which, with due deference, are but sanctioned, fully confirmed, and constitutionally guaranteed and transmitted to us by our fathers: signed by their palsied hand in death, and sealed by their blood. This is no fiction! It is the voice of these, our departed fathers, now crying from their tombs to us, their sons, to rally around, and vigorously defend the threatened tree of liberty for which they died.

When under a despotic government, where the property and the life of every subject must depend entirely on the sympathy or the will of one man only, it is indeed well for the rights and the lives of the whole, that that natural and rational sympathy which all must feel in common for one another, should not be manifested.

We hold two millions and a half of our fellow-beings in this way. When I say we, I mean just as I say. We *do* hold them, and treat them thus as a nation. The north may try to shuffle off this whole dread responsibility upon the south, but all in vain. The north can never make the south the scapegoat of this great national sin, until she has herself first repented of it, and then gone to the utmost limits of the constitution, politically, and *then* to the full extent of her *moral* influence, to do it away. But this, with the blessing of heaven, would soon wipe the foul stain for ever from the nation, and she would rise, as from her ashes, before an astonished world. And that man who will not sympathize with the oppressed, and do every thing in his power for their amelioration and peaceful liberation, must be directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, giving countenance to the sad condition of our enslaved countrymen. Suppose every man in this nation, not a slaveholder, should exercise but a little of that sympathy, in behalf of the millions of the perishing slaves, which that father felt, when his little son fell overboard from the deck of a vessel; think you our suffering fellow-beings would not soon be delivered from the "deep damnation" of their cruel bondage?

How was this father's sympathy expressed for his perishing little son? By the exclamation, "Oh! my God! I cannot see my child perish before my eyes with-

out an effort to save him ;" and instantly plunged into the deep, and, with his child in his arms, sank to rise no more. Though this affectionate father lost his life in the attempt, yet who denies it to have been a most noble daring? But was it any more so, than when to save millions, the noble Lovejoy, too, "launched his bark" upon the boisterous ocean of unhallowed passions, and sank forever by bloody hands?

But as a nation and a people, instead of our feeling too much for our brethren in bondage, our servile and contracted hearts, through long habits of selfish coldness towards their sufferings, privations, and wrongs, as it were, are "twice dead and plucked up by the roots." The truth is, we have sunk this poor wretched people so far beneath our feet, that their entreaties to us for justice, for mercy, and for freedom, have long since ceased to reach our ears ; and we have, moreover, recently said, by a dignified and formal congressional vote, that we would not be troubled even with their entreaties. But while our ear, as a nation, through our ill-gotten wealth, our pride, and all our selfish interests and hard-heartedness, has been closing up against all the claims of our greatly oppressed fellow-countrymen, there is an ear far above ours which has been open, and has distinctly heard "their every cry, their every groan, their every sigh." And may we not add, the clanking of every chain, the sound of every lash ; nay, the falling of every tear? And, as a just being, who giveth to every one his due, he, too, hath numbered the very drops of blood and sweat wrongfully wrung from the poor down-trodden and oppressed man, by the hard heart and the griping hand of his cruel oppressor ; and in that day when he

shall make "inquisition for blood," the oppressor who has not repented, and done works meet for repentance, will no doubt receive the reward of his doings, and his works will follow him, — when all these drops from liquid fire, by retribution, may be poured out upon his conscience forever, to embitter his reflections : for in this life he had his good things, but "Lazarus his evil things." And every apologist who, in any manner, shall "daub with untempered mortar," by softening down, or attempting to palliate or excuse such dreadful oppressions, will no doubt be regarded as an abettor, and will be treated accordingly. The man who is accessory to murder, and beholds the bloody attempt, and does not do all in his power to prevent it, is by all civilized laws, and by the common consent of mankind, deemed a murderer himself, and is punished accordingly. If this be a common sense and a common law principle, as it regards an individual, why should it not be so, on the broad scale of the murder, or the robbery of thousands and of millions of immortal beings? It doubtless is so in the eye of Him who looketh at the heart, and who cannot be mocked. A righteous God doth ever abhor *him* who eateth the bread of the oppressor, and drinketh the wine of violence ; and also him who is accessory to it, and doth not lift up his voice like a trumpet against it. Wholesale oppression has hardened the national heart.

SECTION IV.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE IT WILL TAKE AWAY THE PROPERTY OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS, AND BANKRUPT THE SOUTH."

IN the first place, in reply to one part of this objection, I deny that man has any right whatever, from any proper authority in the universe, with profane hands to pluck his fellow man down from an elevated rank, but a "little lower than that of the angels," in which his Maker placed him, and reduce him to a common level with the beast of the field, and with goods, wares, and merchandise, to a mere thing, a "chattel" in law, and then do violence and outrage to every principle of justice revealed, or written upon the very constitution of man, by arrogantly assuming to claim his fellow, his equal and his brother, as his property. It is directly against the spirit and the grand principles of our own government, as contained both in our constitution and the declaration of our independence, and most glaringly opposed to every idea which any of us can possibly conceive, of equal justice and equal rights among men. And more than this, in despite of the utmost efforts of men in their cupidity and boundless thirst for power, to legalize slavery, and thereby endeavour, in some degree, to make it respectable, still, according to our own law, when slavery is practised in the most legalized and modified manner, it is but man-stealing. This declaration may sound harsh to some who have not duly consi-

dered this subject. But let us all endeavour to look at it as it is, independent of prejudice, and to call things by their own names. Men are first stolen from Africa, forcibly brought into this country, and immediately transferred from one to another, like any other species of property. So far as I have learned, I find the laws of all the civilized nations with regard to theft, to be, that stolen property can be claimed by its true owner wherever found. And when one makes a purchase of property, he takes it at his own risk, so far as his title to hold the *specific* property is concerned; and if called for by a third person, as stolen property, it devolves on the purchaser to trace back, and to prove his title to be older or better than that of the claimant, and, if unable to do so, the property must at once be surrendered to its more rightful owner; and then *he* may possess it until some one can prove an older or a better title than his. As it regards man, profanely called a chattel, of course it would always be found, that the only valid title was still vested in the *man* who was first stolen from himself, and whenever and wherever he calls for himself, if he be an innocent man, who shall have the audacity, this side of the throne above, both against legal and moral right, to challenge his claim?

For instance, let any of us be stolen from this country, carried to Algiers, or to any part of Africa, sold over and over again to African masters; should we not think we had a just right to ourselves, a title-deed from our Maker, recorded in the archives on high, by which, whenever, and wherever, we found ourselves, we could proudly and fearlessly claim ourselves to be our own lawful property? None but the giver of life and liberty

can take them away, unless forfeited by crime. And could we make our escape, should we think it theft or robbery to take our bodies with the transcript of our title-deed engraven upon our constitution, and just to make off with ourselves without "leave or license" from any *created* being in the vast dominion of Jehovah? I admit this to be strong language; but I speak with deference, and know what I speak, and mean what I say; provided always, that we have not sacrificed our liberties to our country, by offending its just and equal laws.

Short of this, I repeat it, there is no created being that can rightfully deprive us of the ownership of ourselves, and of this high and broad liberty. Every man ought to feel this, and to act upon it everywhere.

"And if, and if," says one (with the slaveholding spirit and dialect), "your d—d '*nigger business*' alters the case, it is your bull that has gored my ox."

If this common law and common sense principle be correct, then the stolen man can most assuredly, at all times, rightfully claim himself; and without the commission of crime, to forfeit his liberty, could always of right, in all lands, whether rich or poor, walk forth triumphantly an independent freeman. This is law in its original and immutable principles, and enslaving *innocent* people is but the mere sufferance of the open and high-handed violation of the very first principles of all law. And it would not be strange if time should show, that there is not a slave in this nation, according to the broad and deep-laid principles of our constitution, except "convicts of crime," (but by implication;) for one of the most prominent of these principles is, that "no

person shall be deprived of his life or his liberty without due process of law." The American Anti-slavery Society has not, however, taken this ground.

The recent constitutional argument on this subject, by Alvan Stewart, Esq., is at least well worthy the most attentive perusal of every American citizen and every friend of humanity and civil liberty, if for no other reason than to see the very strong bias which existed in the minds of our worthy fathers in favour of universal liberty at the adoption of the constitution. Little did they then think, that, instead of a speedy and a universal emancipation, seven vast slave markets would be so soon added to this Union.

I believe that the strict adherence to the letter and the spirit of the great fundamental principles of our constitution, in connexion with those contained in the immortal declaration of American independence, is the only thing (under God) that can renovate and save our country from the wreck of by-gone republics; for these are the eternal principles of all truth, both natural and revealed.

Pirates, who have cut loose from all law, and are, therefore, outlaws, are the only created beings in the wide universe, that could strictly be slaveholders: for they defy all law, standing aloof from civilized man, being a "kind of law unto themselves." But even in this case, it appears to me, that such men (if men they could, in any sense, be called,) could not be regarded in any other light but that of "legal monsters," for they would have outraged every just principle of law, both human and divine, and would be "sinning against all heaven and earth." But, replies one, with all the cool-

ness of talking about any other live stock, "all this may be so by a certain 'kink in the law' as to 'tham are niggers' what are brought from Africa, but as to 'tham are niggers' what are raised by their masters, it is no such thing."

Well, then, let me steal your flock of sheep of 100, and in a week they happen to have increased to 200. You come for your stolen property; you can just take the 100 old sheep, and go home with yourself; but as to the 100 young sheep, they are mine, sir.

Now, I don't see but that a man of enterprise, who is fond of the good things of this life, might in this way lawfully supply himself, and all his good neighbours too, with lamb, veal, pigs, chickens, &c., with very little change in his pocket. "But," says one, "this is small talk."

I know very well that people who hate a whole subject, never hear it treated to suit them; for *manner* cannot be very *pleasing*, when the *matter* is offensive. The only treatment of a subject to suit such persons, is with the more solid arguments of stones and brickbats, or with open ridicule, or with silent affected contempt. But suppose slavery could be legalized by men, so that it would not be human robbery or man-stealing, (which I deny according to the very basis of all laws of the civilized world,) it would still be a most flagrant violation of the divine law, which requires us, under the penalty of God's displeasure, "to defend the poor and fatherless," to do justice to the afflicted and needy, to break every yoke, to deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, and to let the oppressed go free."

Now let us lay aside for a moment dark and criminal

prejudice, and make the case our own ; then say whether any treatment short of this towards the oppressed can be acting up to that blessed and universally admitted "golden rule," "as you would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them." But to extend our conceptions again for a moment to our new home in Africa, where we are sold and driven from place to place in chains, toiling 16 hours a day in a burning sun, and grinding our own supper of corn at night, and all for our African kidnappers and masters ; think you we should deem it a crime, or that our God would charge it to our account, should we at times when denied us by our cruel "*black*" masters, take enough of the fruit of our own hard unrequited toil to stop the cravings of hunger, of ourselves, our wives, and our children ? Yet the pale-skinned kidnappers and masters, have the hardihood to call this "stealing," and most cruelly whip, and crop off ears for it, and sometimes put to death the wretched victims of their tyrannical power for taking enough of their own hard earnings (and by right their own property) to satisfy present hunger. How sadly now are the tables turned upon us, and how the picture is inverted.

To a mind that has been enlightened on this subject, and led to see, and to feel all the "horribleness" of slavery, the very soft and modified terms often applied to slaveholders, merely to pity, or to apologize for them, or at most to express a very moderate degree of blame, appears about as inappropriate as that which was once made use of to express the guilt and crime of a base assassin, who took the life of his neighbour in a cold-blooded and horrid manner. Said one, "he ought to have been *ashamed*" of it!!! But the time doubtless

will yet arrive, when the crime and the guilt of holding a human and an immortal being, as a mere chattel, an appendage only to promote the happiness of his equal and his fellow — and buying and selling him like a beast of burden, will be regarded by the whole world as much greater than that of stealing a horse, as man is superior to this animal in intellectual and moral worth, and as his hopes and his destinies may ever rise in infinite superiority and importance.

When this time shall arrive, the crime of stealing a MAN, will be deemed worthy of the nations to combine to apprehend one offender.

Who that has lived no longer than half a century in the world, has not witnessed changes in public sentiment which have as much, or even more astonished him, than this would? Who that has looked over the annals of mankind, is not convinced of the extreme mutability of human opinions, and human prejudices? Indeed, what stands out on the records of time more prominently, and in bolder relief, than the fact, that what was popular yesterday, has been on the wane to day, and exploded to-morrow?

With regard to the other part of this objection, which is that of bankrupting the south to abolish slavery, it appears to me, there need hardly more be said in reply to it, than that slavery *itself* is very rapidly doing this same work. The extent of territory occupied by slaveholders, being much more than equal to that of the hardy sons of freedom in the free States, who deem it honourable to labour with their own hands; and the amount paid into the public treasury from the slave States, being, in comparison with the free States, as one to five only, is

of itself proof positive, that the abolition of slavery is the only thing that can save the south from poverty, bankruptcy, and utter prostration and degradation, physical, mental, and moral; for God will ever curse the oppressor with a blighting curse.

Was it necessary here, it might easily be shown too, that *natural* causes have always been providentially employed to effect thus gradually, but not the less certain, their own ruin. A just God hath always in reserve

“Justice for th’ oppress’d,
And judgement for the proud.”

Did I dare allow myself, on this great and sacred subject of human liberty, to appeal often to the comparatively base and sordid considerations of pecuniary interest, I could, without hesitation, give it as my own deliberate opinion, that, so far from universal southern emancipation, producing southern bankruptcy, or even diminishing the aggregate value of the property of the slaveholding States, it would in reality, very soon increase it many fold. Many substantial reasons might be adduced from observation and experience, in full proof of this opinion. But suffice it to say here, that the vast sterile fields of the entire south, owing to the blighting curse of unrequited toil, which now rate with northern farms as one to five, would at once be brought fairly into the great market of the whole civilized world, and be cut up into suitable farms for the occupancy of independent freemen, whose industry and skill would soon bring every nook and corner of them into the highest possible state of cultivation. But the very bad husbandry, almost necessarily the attendant, as might well

be expected, of unrewarded labour, now leaves those otherwise fertile fields in a measurably unproductive state.

And, also, as it now is, the abhorrence which by far the greater part as well as the better part of mankind so justifiably entertain to slavery, shuts out the southern lands from any thing like an equal market with other portions of the globe, or in the same ratio that this just abhorrence to slavery, exists among men. Did an enterprising company of northern "yankees," for instance, own the entire twelve States, were they good financiers, what would most likely be their mode of greatly advancing the worth of their lands from their present low value? Why, doubtless, to follow the wise example of all experience in this particular, where real estate has risen to the highest possible value and demand. They would first run out their lands into the most eligible size and dimensions for freemen to occupy; and would next take effective measures greatly to improve the state of society, in every thing desirable to render it the most inviting to all the civilized as well as the christianized world.

We have uniformly seen this course pursued where real estate has risen high in value. Even professed unbelievers in religion, who have been great land proprietors, or proprietors of towns or villages, have, notwithstanding, often aided liberally in the erection of houses for public worship, in the establishment of institutions of learning, and in the general improvement of society; and all *professedly* from purely interested considerations, to enhance the value of their estate, by bring-

ing it into a better, and a more general market among men.

The wealthy Girard, though an avowed discarder of all religion, often practically and professedly acted upon this principle, in aiding in the erection of houses for public worship in Philadelphia. Who does not know that the real value of rents or lots in cities, or of farms in all countries, is very much regulated by the characteristic of the neighbourhood in which they may chance to be located?

To cite but a single case directly in point: there is now proof positive, that the moment Lovejoy fell by riotous and murderous hands — by the virtual countenance of the citizens of Alton; by a kind of ominous and premonitory judgement, real estate in that place, that moment fell also; for it is now well known, that some of the few noble souls, who were not afraid to stand up in defence of the laws of God and man, against the infatuated and infuriated multitude, in that memorable place, now feeling themselves providentially called upon, are desirous to obey the call and testify against that city, by shaking from their feet the very dust of her streets, find no sale for their real estate; being, apparently, under an injunction from the court of Heaven, seeming to say, “there is a heavy debt of blood against this guilty city, the discharge of which is forthwith demanded.” Whether the righteous frown of offended Heaven will rest upon this verily guilty place, as a warning to the world, until the third or fourth generation, may depend upon the condition whether its inhabitants shall “do works mete for repentance;” for if there be a righteous Governor of the Universe who will ever, in some way

that we know not, maintain the purity and the dignity of his government, inviolate, and "will by no means clear the guilty," that people should never dare to expect his complacent favour, until they lawfully render the blood of the guilty for the blood of the innocent, slain in their midst. No apologies, excuses, or prevarications, will ever be regarded, but with abhorrence, by Him who cannot be mocked with impunity. Public opinion in that place, at that time, being against the known laws of God and man, and being thus lawlessly carried out, goes for nothing but to establish the deeper condemnation of that community.

Just so it is upon an extended scale, in regard to the dreadful state of southern society, both as to slavery itself, and all its consequent train of unnumbered moral, social, and political evils. It has long been well known, that thousands of European emigrants to America, for a number of reasons, would have preferred settling in some of the southern states, had it not been for their deep and settled abhorrence to slavery. It is also well known, that at this moment there are a great number of northern people more or less affected with pulmonary complaints, who would gladly exchange their residences for southern ones, at almost any pecuniary sacrifices within their power, were it not for their insurmountable aversion to slavery, and to slaveholding society; and that they have therefore deliberately made up their minds that they would choose rather to live out but half their days, in a northern (and to them,) uncongenial climate, but in a land of freedom, there to be obliged to have their ears pained, and their hearts afflicted and lacerated by the clanking of chains, and the sound of the lash upon their

innocent fellow beings, and the oft repeated piercing shrieks of parting friends ; all of which they well know to be but every-day occurrences, on the bloody fields, or in the dark prison-house of slavery.

The southern soil is even more luxuriant than the northern, but their slavery has long been a curse and blight upon it. There is no freeman's arm there made strong and vigorous by the just hope of reward.

The experiment has already been abundantly tried in a variety of instances where the slaves of a single slave holder, and of whole communities, have been emancipated, and laboured as freemen, for a just compensation; and free labour has been found, universally, to have been more productive than slave labour. Whenever slaves have been emancipated, they have leaped for joy that they were then the owners of themselves, their wives and their children ; and have generally remained labouring for their former masters, (when properly treated,) contented and happy, and were more faithful, and the nett proceeds of their labour have been found to be more productive and more satisfactory than while they were slaves. This has been so in South America, in Mexico, and in all the British and West India Islands. Indeed, it certainly would seem to need no argument to prove all this, when the vast superiority of industry, prosperity, and wealth, on the side of free labouring communities are taken into account.

And as to those "monsters in human shape," who own no other property but human flesh, and make it their whole business to traffic in this article, constantly driving human souls under the whip, from the very capitol of the nation to the far south and southwest, chain-

ed in droves; themselves, in the mean time, often revelling in luxury and dissipation, while their mis-called or stolen property, is pining and groaning under its chains, who would not be willing, nay, rejoice, to see this class of slave-dealers, if need be, themselves reduced to the necessity of wholesome and honourable labour, and their poor, half-starved, miserable victims set free?

I heard one man say, (who did not, himself, profess to be an abolitionist,) that whoever would not rejoice at this, would, most likely, himself turn pirate upon his fellow-man, when an opportunity presented. How this might be, I will not here pretend to say, but leave it to the good sense of all to judge. The slaveholders, and growers, and planters, in their self-righteous, hypocritical dignity retire behind the scene, and *there*, sanctimoniously pull the wires of the whole "accursed piratical machinery" of slavery, and with base and gross absurdity, affect greatly to despise their own chosen "soul drivers," and their "soul buyers;" but still are "rearing" their fellow men, with the sole purpose to put them directly into the very hands of these "base men," which they so much affect to despise, and in whose society they will not mingle, as they say, (themselves being judges,) on account of their baseness and degradation. And these holy and consistent men, behind the scene, are also, at this moment, determined to leave nothing undone in their power, to annex Texas to the Union, if possible, immediately, for an additional vast market, to furnish constant employ for this very class of beings, which they say they so much loath and abhor. "O! consistency, thou art a jewel."

Would not, for instance, the common sense of pro-

priety of every man in our respective communities, readily condemn any set of men as most basely hypocritical, who should themselves attend church on the sabbath, with all the exterior of the most unfeigned and exemplary piety, while they made a constant practice to employ a great number of men, to engage in secular business on that day, and all the while denouncing these very men that they employed as a "vile set of sabbath breakers?"

SECTION V.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE IT WILL LET THE "NIGGERS" ALL LOOSE AMONG US, AND THEY WILL MURDER THEIR MASTERS, AND OVERRUN OUR COUNTRY AS VAGABONDS."

It is sometimes unavoidably amusing, while mingled with regret to those who are free from the blood of oppression, and know no fear but the fear of God, and suspect no evil but from his righteous displeasure, to observe the effect of such guilty, but groundless apprehensions.

A remarkable instance of this was shown on the 31st of July, 1834, by the American vessels which had lain for weeks in the harbour at the Island of Antigua, weighing anchor, and making their escape through actual fear that the whole Island would be destroyed on the following day, being the time 30,000 souls were to be ushered into being from their nonentity in the dark dungeon of bondage into the noon-day sun of freedom; to be transformed from *things* into MEN, and for the first time to sing the life-inspiring song of jubilee.

Ere these fearfully guilty Americans set sail, they also most earnestly besought their friends there, to escape with them from the Island, as for their lives. But

their friends were not thus terrified because they had previously resolved to do right, and therefore they feared no evil. They felt that to be just, is to be safe, — well, what was the dreadful sequel? Though there were 18 emancipated *coloured* people to one *uncoloured* person on the Island, it was still a scene of great delight to all the *uncoloured* people to behold 30,000 newly created MEN, in extasies, thanking and blessing God and man for their new *creation*, and when the holy-days of their jubilee were over, to see them voluntarily and peacefully go to their accustomed employments with pleasure and alacrity, not now as mere *things*, like unto the implements which they use in their labour, but as MEN, among the *lords of creation*, in a sphere “ *but a little lower than that of the angels.*” Now who that knows mankind can wonder at all this, or think for a moment that men possessing rights in common with their fellow men, unless they do great violence to the acknowledged law of humanity, will not feel a common interest likewise in sustaining their own government, which inviolably secures to them all their own rights. On this point, in a late speech in the senate of the United States, Daniel Webster says, “ a man loves his own ; it is fit and natural that he should do so ; and he will love his country, and its institutions, if he have some stake in it, although it be but a very small part of the general mass of property. If it be but a cottage, an acre, a garden, its possession raises him, gives him self respect, and *strengthens his attachment to his country.* It is our happy condition, by the blessings of providence, that almost every man of sound health, industrious habits, and good morals, can ordinarily attain, at least to this degree of comfort

and respectability ; and it is a result, said he, most devoutly to be wished, both for its *individual*, and its *general consequences*. And again, speaking of Massachusetts, (his own state,) he says, “ It is no matter of regret or sorrow to us, that few are very rich ; but it is our *pride and glory*, that few are very poor. It is, he continues, our still higher pride, and our just boast, as I think, that all her citizens possess means of intelligence and education ; and that of all her productions, she reckons among the very *chiefest*, those which spring from the culture of the mind and the heart.”

Now, while Mr. Webster was proclaiming these noble and self-evident sentiments in favour of freedom from the senate chamber to the nation and the world, one of two or three things is apparent ; either that he did not consider the two and a half millions of people in this land, deprived of all rights, as human beings, or that he entirely overlooked them ; or, that he meant to include them ; or, if none of these view, be correct, through fear of *freedom in debate*, he designedly suppressed his better feelings of humanity, as well as a purer, broader, and still nobler patriotism, in minutely discussing the just claims to equal liberty, of all his countrymen, bond, or free, regardless of complexion, stature, or condition. Perhaps he deemed it *imprudent, or dangerous*, to meddle with so exciting a subject as that of the rights of millions of his countrymen, whose complexion is higher coloured than his own.

Now it is no wonder that our nation, which has been so long stained with the innocent blood of our greatly oppressed fellow-countrymen, should be haunted “ both when we wake and when we sleep,” with these awfully

fearful and guilty forebodings of evil. No wonder that our nation talks about "expediency" so much, and "fears to launch away" upon the great ocean of truth and justice in regard to liberating its millions of *bond-men*.

We are told that the "wicked flee, when no man pursueth, but that the righteous are bold as a lion!" I suppose this righteousness, and this boldness here spoken of, consists simply in a humble confidence and trust in Him, in doing right, in whose hands are the destinies of men and nations. Most of the impious and vacillating expediency of men, is but the very offspring of the opposite of this confidence, and in many cases betrays an entire destitution of it.

There appears to be men (and perhaps not a few in high places in the nation,) who, though they would not be thought atheistical in their sentiments, yet nevertheless act, as though there was no Supreme government over us, to which they were in any possible sense amenable.

Let an individual feel conscious of having greatly injured another, in his property, or his reputation, until he repents, and makes all the reparation in his power, he will of course be constantly labouring under the painful apprehension, of being in some way injured in return. This is perhaps a kind of earnest of the judgment of heaven following him; an awful omen of the future. But let us see from facts and rational arguments, if we will repent, and make suitable reparation, whether these fears have any foundation or existence, but in our tortured and guilty imaginations. Dr. Channing, in speaking of emancipation in the West Indies,

says, "the example which these Islands exhibit of African freedom, of the elevation of the coloured race to the rights of men, is of all influences most menacing to slavery at the south. It must grow, says he, "continually more perilous." Let any one read the highly credible and encouraging account of emancipated slaves in the West Indies, which I recently had the pleasure of hearing from the lips of Rev. Mr. Tinson, a Baptist Missionary for the last fifteen years on the Island of Jamaica, and longer doubt if he can, whether the coloured man is a human being, capable of fully appreciating all his rights as a man. Let him then doubt if he can, whether he should be held (while innocent of crime,) in "vile bondage," and miserable degradation: moment, merely because his "pale skinned, or his uncoloured brother, has got the power in his hands thus to oppress him, and in open outrage of all the self-evident principles of justice and humanity, violently wrests from him all his heaven-born and inalienable rights. Is this not doing violence to all sense of justice in heaven or earth? Who can for a moment believe it right for man, arbitrarily to exercise his superior power over his fellow man, merely to oppress him, and to make him miserable, as this nation are so wickedly treating both the Indians and the Africans? Wherever slaves have been emancipated throughout the world, either voluntarily, or by law, they have remained quiet, and contented, conscious that they then owned their own bodies, their own wives, and their own children, they have felt "rich and happy," and have shown no disposition whatever to revenge their past injuries."

Our "grateful nature," in this, as might well be ex-

pected, has ever proved true to herself. As before remarked, this has ever proved to have been the case, whenever and wherever fairly tried. Indeed, it never can be fairly tried in any country where a vestige of slavery yet remains, for it will forever be the "damning" interest and policy of slaveholders, to oppress and to put down freedom, regardless of colour. Freedom and slavery are forever sworn "antagonists;" for the one is from above, and the other is from beneath. In the island of Antigua, as I have said, there were eighteen blacks, when emancipated, to one white, and they all remained quiet, and continued their accustomed employment with far more diligence and interest than when slaves. Their former masters then doubtless treated them as human beings, as one freeman treats another freeman, and therefore they were satisfied and contented.

In support of these opinions and statements, I will here, out of very many, cite a few interesting, encouraging, and well-known facts on this subject, which, I think, cannot be unacceptable to any; as most persons very justly regard well-substantiated facts with far more favour, on either side of any given question, than they do even volumes of mere assertions without proof.

SAFETY OF EMANCIPATION.

Joseph H. Kimbal, Esq. of New Hampshire, and Rev. James A. Thome of Kentucky, were sent out to collect facts respecting the result of emancipation in the British West Indies. They spent six months in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, and have published the result of their investigations well authenticated.

The following extracts, for which we are indebted to the Boston Recorder, (says the New-York Evangelist,) furnish some idea of the testimony which they collected.

“Both in town and country we heard gentlemen repeatedly speak of the slight fastenings to their houses. A mere lock, or bolt, was all that secured the outside doors, and they might be burst open with ease by a single man. In some cases, as has already been intimated, the planters habitually neglect to fasten their doors—so strong is their confidence of safety. We were not a little struck with the remark of a gentleman in St. John’s. He said he had long been desirous to remove to England, his native country, and had slavery continued much longer in Antigua, he certainly should have gone; but *now the security of property was so much greater in Antigua than it was in England*, that he thought it doubtful whether he should ever venture to take his family thither.

“The first of August, 1834, is universally regarded in Antigua, as having presented a most imposing and sublime moral spectacle. It is almost impossible to be in the company of a missionary, a planter, or an emancipated negro, for ten minutes, without hearing some allusion to that occasion. Even at the time of our visit to Antigua, after the lapse of nearly three years, they spoke of the event with an admiration apparently unabated.

“For some time previous to the first of August, forebodings of disaster lowered over the island. The day was fixed! Thirty thousand degraded human beings were to be brought forth from the dungeon of slavery

and 'turned loose on the community!' and this was to be done 'in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye.'

"Gloomy apprehensions were entertained by many of the planters. Some timorous families did not get to bed on the night of the 31st of July; fear drove sleep from their eyes, and they awaited with fluttering pulse the hour of midnight, fearing lest the same bell which sounded the jubilee of the slaves, should toll the death-knell of the masters.

"The more intelligent, who understood the disposition of the negroes, and contemplated the natural tendencies of emancipation, through philosophical principles, and in the light of human nature and history, were free from alarm.

"As we mingled among the missionaries, both in town and country, meeting them individually and in social circles, they all bore witness to the security of their persons and families. They, equally with the planters, were surprised that we should make any inquiries about insurrections. A question on this subject generally excited a smile, a look of astonishment, or some exclamation, such as "*Insurrection!* my dear sirs, we do not think of such a thing;" or, "*Rebellion,* indeed! why, what should they rebel for *now*, since they have got their liberty!"

Physicians informed us that they were in the habit of riding into the country at all hours of the night, and though they were constantly passing negroes, both singly and in companies, on the roads, they never had experienced any rudeness, not even so much as an insolent word. They could go night or day into any part of the island where their professional duties called them, without the slightest sense of danger.

A residence of nine weeks in the island gave us no small opportunity of testing the reality of its boasted security. The hospitality of planters and missionaries, of which we have recorded so many instances in a previous part of this work, gave us free access to their houses in every part of the island. In many cases we were constrained to spend the night with them, and thus enjoyed, in the intimacies of the domestic circle, and in the unguarded moments of social intercourse, every opportunity of detecting any lurking fears of violence, if such there had been; but we saw no evidence of it, either in the arrangements of the houses or in the conduct of the inmates.

Dr. Daniel, Member of Council, says —

“There has been no instance of personal violence since freedom. Some persons pretended, prior to emancipation, to apprehend disastrous results; but for my part, I cannot say that I ever entertained such fears. I could not see any thing which was to instigate the negroes to rebellion, *after* they had obtained their liberty. I have not heard of a single case of even *meditated* revenge.”

Rev. Mr. Merrish, Moravian Missionary, says —

“In my extensive intercourse with the people, as missionary, I have never heard of an instance of violence or revenge on the part of the negroes, even where they had been ill-treated during slavery. It is most surprising that your countrymen should anticipate such consequences of emancipation. Their fears are unreasonable and groundless.”

Hon. H. Nugent, Speaker of the Assembly, says —

“Insurrection or revenge is in no case dreaded, not

even by those planters who were most cruel in the time of slavery. After slavery is abolished there exists no cause for rebellion. It is *your* nation, not Antigua, that has reason to apprehend insurrections, for slavery *still exists* among you. My family go to sleep every night with the doors unlocked, and we fear neither violence nor robbery."

Again, in a written communication, the same gentleman remarks: "There is not the slightest feeling of insecurity — quite the contrary. Property is more secure, *for all idea of insurrection is abolished forever.*"

For innumerable, well-authenticated, and overwhelming facts on the subject of the perfect safety, and vast superiority to all concerned of immediate emancipation, over all other guilty and "expedient" schemes, for the abolition of slavery, hitherto devised by the wicked policy of man, I would refer any one to the results of the unwearied labours of these men, while visiting the emancipated islands. The authenticated facts which they collected from official documents, and otherwise, have been recently published in a work of nearly five hundred pages. The most essential facts, however, have just been condensed into a pamphlet of one hundred and twenty-eight pages, at the trifling sum of twenty cents per single copy. Could all these deeply interesting facts at once be read by every family in this nation, the whole land would soon resound with two and a half millions of voices, in the thrilling songs of jubilee. Indeed FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF SOULS would have abundant cause to join in the general song of joy.

One has said, that from ample experience and observation, it is abundantly evident that men will work harder

for "Mr. Cash than they will for Mr. Lash." And indeed, what man could not labour with more encouragement and vigour for himself and for his wife and children whom he *loves*, than for a cruel tyrannical master whom he *hates*, and who should sell his wife and children from him before his own eyes, into a returnless bondage; and then give him "daily stripes unnumbered," and but a peck of corn a weak for his food, ground with his own hands at night, when he should be resting his weary limbs, and nothing for his ceaseless toil of sixteen hours a-day?

And with regard to the wonderful panic of some, that the north would be overrun with the blacks, if emancipated, it is altogether visionary and deceptive. Who does not know that the southern climate is far more congenial to the African constitution, than the northern?

The only reason why there are even as many coloured people at the north, as there now are, (though *northern laws and prejudices* are still heavy upon them to what they should be) is owing solely to the most severe and oppressive laws throughout the entire dark dominions of tyranny and slavery against coloured people, "*merely tantalized as free*," which in effect tend greatly as is the desire and the interest of slaveholders, to entirely banish them from the slave states. And in some of the slave states they have even dared, before high Heaven and the world, to enact unconstitutional laws, to banish innocent freemen from their bounds, (some of whom their own children) because their complexion happened to be a little higher coloured than their own. I shall have occasion to quote some of these outrageous and plainly unconstitutional enactments soon, then all can judge for

themselves whether they would evidently amount to a indirect prohibition of even a residence of this great abused, oppressed, and persecuted people, within the limits of such States.

The freeman of this nation, knowing such dreadful outrages upon freedom to exist in our country, and will not at least testify loudly against it, with all the moral as well as all the constitutional political influence in his power, will not, nay, ought not his turn by just retribution to come next? If it do not fall upon *him*, he is heaping up calamity and woe for his children and his country. Let an unprejudiced man of common understanding, once look at all the laws not against the slave only, but against freemen, growing out of the very nature and spirit of slavery, and necessarily so, (as slaveholders admit) to maintain slavery, many of which are clearly arbitrary and unconstitutional; and must he not see that slavery and freedom, from the nature and tendency of each, and from the very necessity of the case, cannot long exist together in the same government? Slaveholders see this, and are arrogantly and tyrannically demanding that the free shall be enslaved. Who cannot see that one must soon destroy the other, like the more powerful of two contending elements, destroying the weaker? The coloured people now called free, as well as some whites, from unconstitutional laws growing out of slavery, and necessary to maintain it, are but just one remove from absolute slavery itself. And these violations of the sacred principles of freedom, and daring encroachments upon her rights, will ever be increasing and becoming more and more arrogant and arbitrary in their exorbitant demands, unless freedom boldly and firmly take her stand,

and say unto her haughty and tyrannical foe, thus far shalt thou go and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be staid! Unless there be energy enough in freedom thus to take her stand, and unless she then possess power enough to maintain it, she falls a bleeding victim to her deadly antagonist. Slaves and freemen cannot long dwell together. Either all must be free or all must be slaves. Slaveholders well understand this principle; as McDuffie, Calhoun, and other leading southern slaveholding politicians have frankly avowed it in the councils of the nation, and they are not idle.

While some at the north are trying to make slaves freemen, the southern politicians and ecclesiastics, almost as a whole, and not unaided by northern ones, are trying much more to make freemen slaves.

Our interests, so long as slavery exists, are antipodes, except that a few northern demagogues, and some, too, who assume a more sacred garb, will court slavery, with every thing else, as a political stepping-stone to power. The affair of St. Domingo (now Hayti) has been greatly misrepresented through ignorance, and also through design, to perpetuate slavery in this country. In the first place, their 600,000 slaves were emancipated by a decree of France, and they enjoyed all the rights of freemen in peace and quietude eight years; when Bonaparte, in his unhallowed career, from mere political "expediency," attempted to reduce them to slavery again. But they fought as freemen (as did our fathers) in defence of all their dear and sacred rights: all that they held worth living for,—their *freedom*,—and banished or massacred their tyrannical invaders, and the whites of the island which were found engaged with them; and

France meanly extorted from them thirty millions as the boon of the acknowledgement of their independence. France, however, has recently remitted a large part of this amount, and is now rapidly preparing to emancipate all her slaves. And how much better is our conduct towards them than Bonaparte's, when we, as a nation, in shameless violation of faith, have refused, on account of our own slavery, to acknowledge the independence of this people, with a population of nearly a million, with flourishing and extensive commercial relations?

And how will it stand out in history with our indecent and hasty acknowledgement of but thirty thousand reckless slaveholding and land-jobbing Texans, who, conscious of being entirely unable to maintain their independence against their legitimate government, Mexico, are therefore seeking and pressing their admission into this Union, by southern aid, regardless of the constitution or the consequences. For a more particular account of Hayti, I would refer any one to Judge Jay's Inquiry, a valuable work, to give them references to the whole authentic history of St. Domingo and Hayti. As "to turning the slaves all out loose among us," some seem to think the abolishment of slavery means turning the slaves all out reckless and lawless, "to run riot through the land," (as too many white freemen have shamefully done of late,) to prey upon the very vitals of community, without the ordinary and proper restraints of the same wholesome and rational laws which are always necessary for the common safety, regulation, and good government of all communities of men. But this is altogether a vague and visionary notion. Give men their freedom, and they are then not only *subjects* of law,

but *proper* subjects ; they are then put upon their own conduct, for a character and a standing in community ; and as they value their liberty, they will ever be careful not to forfeit it. They have then thrown around them all the rational motives, both of fear and of encouragement, to act right. Emancipation converts enemies into friends of a government. Why should it not be so ?

This, indeed, is the very government of Heaven over us all. Our beneficent Creator has wisely and benevolently given us all our freedom, that we might feel our accountability to all his righteous and equal laws, having no respect to persons, colour, or condition.

Genuine and rational freedom does not mean the unrestrained indulgence of a licentious, lawless, riotous spirit, which acknowledges no accountability whatever to God or to man. This is not the kind of freedom that any man, with rational and consistent views of civil liberty, wishes to give two and a half millions of his suffering fellow-countrymen, now under the yoke of a cruel bondage in our midst ; but that kind only which will tend to give them a proper sense of their accountability to law, both “ human and divine.” Would this kind of freedom be dangerous ? To secure the greatest possible amount of happiness, to the greatest possible number, the most equal, scrupulous, and conscientious protection from the whole community, must, as a sacred shield, be thrown around each and every individual, to secure to him all his equal rights. In the ratio that any community depart from this principle, they verge towards the extreme either of anarchy, or of aristocracy and despotism. There is already an alarming toleration of this

recklessness, or dissipation of all freedom, in our land; or, in other language, an utter disregard and defiance of all the laws of Heaven and earth. And as one extreme, in the natural world, is said to follow another, so this kind of riotous and lawless freedom has generally been found, from natural causes, to be the forerunner of the iron reign of despotism; for men always have sought refuge, even under a despotic standard, from the dreadful scourgings of the midnight, restless, malignant spirit of unbridled anarchy and misrule, that prowls about, "seeking whom it may devour." And, from the fearful signs of the times, unless we beware before it be too late forever, all history stands out to warn us, too, of our approaching catastrophe.

The test will soon be unavoidable, whether the so long and so much boasted republic of equal rights, is indeed "based upon slavery;" and that without it this splendid and towering fabric must fall into chaos. Whether, indeed! chains, shackles, and handcuffs, upon millions of our unoffending fellow-countrymen, must forever hold our "glorious Union" together. I have said "glorious Union!" It *might* be, — it *should* be so, — for it cost the best blood of our fathers. But should time prove, however, that it cannot be held together but by the cement of slavery, — the cruel chains of bondage upon millions of our innocent countrymen who have committed no offence against the State or their fellow-men, — the whole world would stamp such a Union as a most *inglorious* one; and it would be so transmitted, in the annals of time, down to the latest posterity of man; and the descendants of Americans would often be made "to blush and to hang their heads," that their

ancestors had ever been guilty of forging these chains, and shackles, and handcuffs, for their guiltless fellow-countrymen. Let the truth always be known, and then let us ever, as true friends to our common country and mankind, "guard against the worst, but still hope and act for the best." The strength of free governments never can consist in suppressing truth, but rather in its entire and fearless developement, and its universal dissemination, that the people who must govern, to preserve the freedom of a country, might be enabled thereby to judge correctly, and to act understandingly; and whatever government cannot stand before the plain and simple exhibition of truth, as freemen and republicans, to be consistent, we all would, of course, say it ought to fall,—*knowing that a government which cannot bear truth must be hostile to liberty*: for the doctrine would indeed be an anomaly, that the people who compose the government should practise arts and deceptions upon themselves, or voluntarily blindfold their own eyes. The doctrine is truly absurd in the extreme; as much so, as it would be to "set the blind to lead the blind."

All history shows us, that whenever a people have once tamely submitted to take the incipient steps of surrendering their freedom of speech, and the press, and right of petition, without instant horror and alarm for their imminent danger, it has subsequently proved to have been but the premonitions of infatuated suicidal acts upon all their liberties, until despotism was inevitable.

If our government cannot stand without the people voluntarily blinding their *own* eyes to their *own* affairs, the question is at once and forever settled, that it never can stand. It may, it is true, if the people *do* consent

to be blinded upon great national subjects, retain its mere form for a time, but it will be like the whited sepulchre only, or like a body without a soul. Even now the exclamation, I am an American citizen, is not a safe passport in all parts of this land!

We know that our government in times past, when great national questions have been fearlessly agitated and thoroughly discussed, has stood firm and immovable, as on a rock. And may we not fondly hope, that it will so remain in all future time? But let no blind nor selfish considerations of "expediency," policy, or party, induce any one to suppose, all things considered, that he is doing his country service to suppress truth or free discussion for a moment. For, aside from mere base and selfish party considerations, the old Jeffersonian doctrine will ever hold good the world over, the testimony of tyrants to the contrary notwithstanding, that is, that "error can be safely tolerated while reason is left free to combat it."

When this staunch republican and enlightened statesman said "REASON," it is presumed he did not mean those mobocratic, *stony* reasons which creatures called men, sometimes resort to, to sustain a cause which they know that law nor common sense will not justify. And here let me repeat the words of Mr. Clay—"it is a bad cause that will not bear reasoning upon." And how does this apply to slavery?

The very fact, that mobs resort to violence and brute force, is proof positive, that they do themselves feel conscious that their cause is not founded in truth and justice;—for most men, doubtless, have sufficient confidence in their own powers of reasoning and persuasion,

to depend on these powers by which to achieve their victory, if they fully believe that reason is on their side. To use physical force, if necessary, to sustain reasonable laws against violence, is yet justified, or at least practised by all nations.

But we all hope that the time will arrive, when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks. And why shall we not begin now to bring this about?

This pounding, persecuting, and shooting men's opinions out of them, in no part, nor in any age of the world, has ever succeeded where freedom still survived. For most men have been found to surrender up their lives before they would their opinions.

The apprehension that our great first rights, "freedom of thought and of speech," were the special gifts of our Creator, seems to have been universally inherent in the human mind, and men have ever been apparently as unwilling to surrender those first and heaven-born rights, as they have been their interest in the Creator himself. We find the same justly celebrated sentiment of Jefferson with regard to the perfect safety of the unabridged exercise of the freedom of opinion, to be but the common sentiment of all men who have ever been thought to favour free governments.

The following language, so often quoted by all the advocates of freedom, like the other, is the offspring of a mind of like vast comprehension. "Let truth and error grapple." Whoever knew truth to be put to the worst in a free and open encounter? And also, "He is the freeman whom the truth makes free, and all are slaves besides."

The very elements in which all tyrants necessarily exist, are the mists and the exhalations of falsehood. They are like one with inflammation of the eyes, who rejoices after a bright summer's day at the going down of the sun, and dreads nothing more than its returning rays; and its mid-day beams are quite insufferable.

And it now remains in awfully fearful suspense to be seen, whether freedom of speech and the press, are indeed to be cloven down in our blood-bought, and yet blood-stained country; and the safeguard of liberty, the constitution as bequeathed to us by our fathers, by ruthless mobs, composed of their own degenerate sons, trampled under foot, and in its place anarchy prevail and triumph over the land, and universal destruction follow in its train; or whether the voice from the tomb of an assassinated Lovejoy, the American Martyr, to freedom, humanity, and his country, — who just fell at Alton by murderous hands, — shall be loud enough to wake up the guilty slumbers of this nation to a just sense of its well-nigh lost liberties.

How intensely interesting the thought, that if this the last experiment of self-government by the people fail, the last fond hope of the human race is gone; perhaps irrecoverably lost forever.

It is true, that the people of the old world have long been looking with no ordinary interest upon our now pending experiment of free and self-government by the people. What shall be the issue, the bosom of the future must alone develope.

O, my countrymen, shall the last lingering hope of the world's freedom, of which our nation has so long boasted, as forming the nucleus, be forever blotted out, and

darkness profound be destined to brood over the earth, with the blackness of midnight? Shall Columbus and Washington have lived in vain?

Let no one who would be a genuine and a rational republican, or patriot, flatter himself into that most fatal deception, for a moment, that violent, unprincipled and reckless mobocrats, are acting on the side of consistent, enlightened, and rational republicanism; for so far from this is the fact, that they have ever been known to be the mere echoes, and base and servile tools to tyrants and despots, who are the deadly enemies of all freedom, with a treasonable hand, adroitly touching the cords of anarchy and misrule behind the scene, not daring, themselves, to show to the world the naked deformity of their own lawless, unmerciful, and bloody despotism. Who must not see, that where scenes so dreadful are suffered by the people to prevail, that they must very soon effect a total subversion of all courts of law and institutions of justice among men; when the walls of safety would then be broken down, and property, person, liberty, and life, are all at once surrendered into the bloody hands of unrestrained, merciless, and infuriated monsters in human shape. Men, in all ages, have indeed proved monsters, when all wholesome restraints have once been broken through. Who does not know that many men of office, "property and standing," in the land, have heretofore been guilty of this degrading, unmanly, and dangerous course? Will the government of the States, and of the nation, speak out boldly and decidedly in favour of order, of the laws and of the constitution, of our beloved, but bleeding and abused country? Will the Senate of this nation construe our constitution into a bold, tyrannical

code, to wrest from the people the freedom of speech and the right of petition? Shall we *all* at length be reluctantly compelled to believe that the government itself has, indeed, conspired against the lives and the liberties of the people, and that bloody mobs are only executing the secret will of reckless, despotic, and slaveholding rulers? How will the '*sovereign people*' have it to be? My confidence hitherto has been, that our government would yet vindicate the violated honour of the fallen majesty of the laws and the constitution of the land, even as President Jackson so nobly did in the critical hour of the nullification menaces and outrages. But alas! has my confidence for myself and for my country been misplaced? May Heaven forbid that the American government shall prove, at last, what its enemies have long predicted: "to be inert, and utterly insufficient to govern the American people." And may the American people, who proudly boast that the government is their own, upon a crisis the most important which has ever marked their history, show to the whole world that they do by no means regard with indifference, the tragical massacre, by ruthless hands, of one of their own fellow-citizens, for opinion's sake, or rather for nobly defending the same great principles of freedom and civil liberty, which gave us birth, as a people, and which have so long been our just pride, before the nations of the earth. But may the honour of our nation be promptly redeemed, by our speedily proving, to all the world, that we do consider that the perfection of all human governments, consists in maintaining, inviolably, all the equal and constitutional rights of even the most humble citizen, as sacredly as those of the highest; and that

when the blood of one citizen is spilt unlawfully, we feel that the whole body politic is bleeding at every pore. Short of this, what foreigner, as an emigrant or a visiter, can with safety set his foot upon America's blood-stained soil? Short of this, what American citizen will not only feel himself unsafe in his own country, by his own fireside, in his property or his person, but essentially degraded in the eyes of all mankind? O, must it go down in the annals of time, to the eternal shame and disgrace of the sons of a noble race of ancestors, that in republican America, in mid-day, one of her own free sons was wantonly and deliberately massacred, by a base mob, which her own laws, or her own people, *could* not, or *would* not control, and all for the crime of saying that the millions of his fellow-countrymen, who are guilty of no crime, (axcept a coloured skin,) ought not to wear fetters, hand-cuffs, and chains, and be driven under the lash by cruel and soulless task-masters? This, be it ever remembered, was the head and front of the lamented Lovejoy's offence against his fellow-countrymen, who killed him; for which alleged crime, he was shot down by bloody hands, in the memorable city of Alton, after having most pathetically appealed, in vain, as an American citizen, to his fellow-countrymen, to throw around him the hallowed protection of those laws, and that constitution of his country, which *his* father, and *our fathers* died to establish, and which he so nobly and triumphantly defended, "*even unto death.*"

SECTION VI.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE *my* IDEA OF REPUBLICANISM IS, THAT WE SHOULD AIM AT THE GREATEST GOOD TO THE GREATEST NUMBER; AND AS THERE ARE MORE WHITES THAN BLACKS, THEREFORE, I GO FOR THE FREEDOM AND HAPPINESS OF THE WHITES, AND FOR THE SLAVERY OF THE BLACKS."

THERE is, doubtless, a kind of superficial notion floating in the brain of some people, that this is a most wonderfully expansive, consistent, rational, and enlightened idea of republicanism; and that it is founded on the true democratic doctrine that the majority ought always to govern. If this, indeed, be *modern* republicanism, it is by no means (in the distorted sense in which such men pretend to understand it,) the equal right's republicanism of our fathers, and of the constitution, and the declaration of American independence.

Now, to accomplish what we may vainly suppose to be the greatest possible good, to the greatest possible number, we have no *moral* right, whatever, to act upon the arbitrary and tyrannical principle, that "might is right," and that "the end always justifies the means;" for we must see, that this doctrine at once annihilates all the great first principles of right and wrong, between man and man. It would, at once, strike at the deep and broad principles of the constitution itself. And

this too, would be contrary to the universal, common consent of mankind, or the laws of the great Law Giver, or the foundation of the laws of all nations. Who ever heard of an innocent individual being arbitrarily sacrificed, even to save the lives of many? Such an act would intuitively shock the moral sense of the whole human race. But by volunteering, or by casting lots, individuals have frequently been sacrificed to save a ship's crew, or a nation. But, had even their liberties, not to say their lives, been thus taken from them, or, in the least degree invaded, for any purpose whatever, it would, most manifestly, have been unequal and unjust; or, in other language, SLAVERY. Involuntary slavery commenced, and has ever been, and ever must be, carried on by grossly violating all the first great principles of equal justice, between man and man. It may be, forsooth, that our supposed accomplishment of the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number, may be ill-judged and visionary; and that if we pursue a course to accomplish such a purpose, and which outrages every principle of right, as in the case of our treatment of our Indians, as well as our enslaved countrymen, that RETRIBUTIVE justice may react upon us, to the entire destruction of all our boasted prospective good.

Such a course of conduct, to say the least, is reckless and altogether unwarrantable; and would trample upon all men's rights to a throne, upon the plausible pretence of some tyrant that he could in this way accomplish the greatest possible good to mankind. Tyrants to attain power and to accomplish their own aggrandizement, have always pursued such a course, and the people have listened, believed, and been enslaved. But of one thing

we can ever be certain, that equal justice to *all*, in the present tense, (not prospectively) is inculcated by the divine law, and of course it must be the highest possible sense of the principle of expediency in the government of all our actions, in relation to one another, according to that very common adage of mankind, that "honesty is the best policy."

Does it require any thing more than the exercise of plain common sense, to see the tendency and the end of the universal prevalence of the "expediency" doctrine, in the sense in which it is professed and acted upon by many? Who does not see that the term "expedient" is now hardly more than another name for selfishness or dishonesty? Not only that an unqualified license to brute force would be given, but if men, in the shape of mobs should perchance refrain (which is not probable,) from running rampant, and wantonly rioting over the whole land, still the principles would be those of nullification in the extreme. Nullification principles were the offspring of slavery at the south. And in the same ratio that we find apologists for slavery at the north, have the nullification seeds been sown among us by the hand of an enemy; sprung up into trees and saplings, and are now bearing fruit, "some twenty, some sixty, and some an hundred fold." Everybody is willing to admit, that should a law be enacted in any of the States, contravening the constitution of the United States, it would be a mere nullity, and no one would be bound to obey it; at the same time there is a kind of *under current* prevailing to an alarming extent even at the north, (which is but the deceptive lesson which nullification has taught,) that the voice of every community, whether

legally ascertained and carried out into enactments or not, must be supreme for the time being ; and every man in such community is bound to abide by it as much as he is by the written laws and the constitution of the land. If such a doctrine be not nullification doctrine in its most dreadful, dangerous, and horrid shape, I confess for one that I am entirely unable to conceive what is. This doctrine when practically carried out into all the endless and various ramifications of society, would not only make an independent government or nation of every state, city, village, school district, and neighbourhood in the whole land ; but even these different communities, according to this doctrine, need not wait for the usual and more tardy way of arriving at justice among men (who subject themselves to civil government,) by first properly enacting the laws by a legal constitutional expression of public sentiment, and then giving every man a "fair chance" for his life and all his rights, by courts of justice, witnesses, juries, counsels, &c., but every man with his family and his property, would, at any moment, be liable upon any false pretense whatever, to be seized upon and all sacrificed in a summary manner without judge, jury, or witnesses. All this is but a slight delineation of what would exist. It is true, this state of things could not long be endured, for the people would cry out in their deep distress, who "will show us any good?" who will be king or emperor over us? This is the very mobocracy of nullification, most subtly coiled in the late famous senatorial resolutions.

But there is a kind of nullification which assumes a grander and a more lofty appearance ; which is, that the States are so many independent nations, and that they may enact laws abridging the constitutional liberties of

American citizens. Against the most arrogant and dangerous encroachments upon our freedom, of both of these kinds of nullification; every patriot as he loves his country — his whole country — his own liberties — the liberties of his own children, and all posterity, should lift up his most solemn and warning voice, long and loud. These nullification, disorganizing doctrines, will doubtless be cherished by reckless, ambitious, and unprincipled men, who are opposed to wholesome, rational, and lawful restraints, which are the only means of securing “the greatest amount of good to the greatest possible number,” on constitutional principles of justice and equal laws for all. Our only hope as a nation, must forever be in the intelligence and virtue of the great body of the people, for they must virtually be the administrators of the government, unless indeed despotism ensue.

Intelligence will ever be indispensable. But even universal intelligence alone, will prove insufficient to sustain and perpetuate the liberties of a people. Says a highly gifted and intelligent American lady, who does honour to her sex, and her country, “our nation, while priding itself in the education of the *head*, have lamentably neglected the education of the *heart*.”

Says an American gentleman, standing high in the councils of our country, “crime and intellectual cultivation *merely*, so far from being *dissociated* in history and statistics, are unhappily old acquaintances and tried friends. To neglect the moral powers in education, says he, “is to educate not quite half the man.” And who that spreads out the chart of past ages before him, can entertain a doubt that these considerations are of

the highest moment, both for the rulers and the people of all nations who are desirous long to enjoy rational liberty, and individual and social happiness? *National* characteristic must forever be made up of *individual* characteristic. If most of the separate timbers, which to the eye of a superficial observer might be thought to compose a strong and a mighty superstructure, should, on trial, prove unsound or essentially defective, the whole of necessity would soon fall into a pile of ruins by its own weight.

But I will yet indulge the fond hope, however, that the American people will still not only possess the intelligence to see that their all is at stake in these important considerations, but that when they do see it, they will possess the virtue also to fly with alacrity to guard the last dying bequest of their fathers ; the preservation of their equal liberties.

All the people who wish to support the great temple of our long idolized government, should act as one man, regardless of faction or party, as does the master builder in erecting and sustaining some mighty fabric. Should he suffer a brace to be wanting — or to be cut away in one place — a stud in another — a beam or a girt in another, and a sill or a pillar in the fourth place, like taking away the freedom of the press, the very foundation of all free government ; who cannot see that his work “ would follow him,” and that his air-built castle would soon fall apart, and with a tremendous crash come to the earth, and *all* in its way be forever buried beneath its ruins ? Every man should feel that this splendid temple, reared by our fathers, is his *own* ; and whenever he sees a rude hand marring its beauty, cutting away its supports, and weakening its foundation, as quick as thought, should

he sound the note of alarm — treason ! treason ! While this idea is couched in a figure, may it be remembered that it is no fiction.

Supremacy of the laws and the constitution should ever be our motto ; but while this should be our motto, and while we should ever most scrupulously act up to it, or live in strict obedience to the laws, it need not, nay, it should not, for a moment be supposed, that every man has not the most perfect constitutional, as well as moral, right, to express his opinions most freely against any or all the laws of the land ; or if he please, the constitution itself.

We know of no laws in our land like the laws of the “ Medes and Persians,” or we know of no divine right of kings. Legislators, as delegated by the people, may enact laws to-day, and repeal them to-morrow. This always has been so in our country, and always must be so, if we remain a free people. It will not do for any man in this Union to make a reserve in his mind of certain laws which happen to favour his particular interest much ; and say to his neighbour, all other laws of the land you may freely speak against, but *these* are *my* laws, and these you shall not speak against upon the peril of your property and your life. The man who should make such a threat to an American citizen in any part of this Union, if the letter and the spirit of the constitution should be acted up to, would at once be secured as a dangerous person to run at large. The man who should do so, I should think, would as soon rob his threatened neighbour, at the midnight hour, of all his worldly treasures, which are of far less value to any independent human being than the freedom of speech.

One oppressive and despotic act, either in accordance with a tyrannical law, or as the edict of lynch-law, may at once deprive any of us of all the invaluable immunities and privileges which law, in its broadest and best sense, can afford us, when righteously administered. For it is then, like an angel of love and of power, commissioned from on high to guard with watchful eye, our every right, "both when we wake and when we sleep." What well-wisher to his fellow-man, *regardless of colour*, would not most cheerfully contribute his utmost influence to sustain the supremacy of law, in the just and comprehensive sense in which a Literary Journalist of the day so beautifully and graphically portrays it, to wit: "The spirit of the law is all equity and justice?" In a government based on *true principles*, the law is the sole sovereign of a nation. It watches over its subjects in their business — in their recreation, and their sleep. It guards their fortunes, their lives, and their honours. In the broad noon-day, and the dark midnight it ministers to their security. It accompanies them to the altar, and the festal board. It watches over the ship of the merchant, though a thousand leagues intervene; over the seed of the husbandman, abandoned for a season to the earth; over the student — the labours of the mechanic — the *opinions of every man*.

"None are *high* enough to offend it with impunity — none *so low* that it scorns to protect them. It is throned with the king, and sits in the seat of the republican magistrate; but it hovers over the couch of the lovely, and stands sentinel at the prison, scrupulously preserving to the felon, what rights he has not forfeited. The light of the law illumines the palace and the hovel, and sur-

rounds the cradle and the bier. The strength of law laughs forfeitness to scorn, and spurns the entrenchments of iniquity. The power of the law crushes the power of man, and strips wealth of *unrighteous immunity*. It is the thread of Dædalus, to guide us through the labyrinths of cunning. It is the spear of Ithuriel, to detect falsehood and deceit. It is the faith of the martyr, to shield us from the fires of persecution. It is the *good man's reliance*; the wicked one's dread — the bulwark of piety — the upholder of morality — the guardian of right — the distributor of *justice* — its power is irresistible — its dominion indisputable. It is above us, and around us, and within us. We cannot fly from its protection — we cannot avert its vengeance." Had the good people of Alton always cherished the above glowing sense of the benefit of law, and of their obligation to sustain its supremacy, would Lovejoy or Bishop now be sleeping in their tombs? Or did the people of Illinois thus feel, would they now suffer open assassins to run at large in their midst with impunity; vying for the honour of shooting down one of their own peaceable fellow-citizens; for nobly vindicating the great and glorious principles of the American constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech and the press to *all*, being answerable *only* to constitutional laws for any abuse of it? Did the people of this nation too, entertain this pure, elevated, and consistent view of human rights, think you they would much longer allow, not only the rights of two and a half millions of their own countrymen to be arbitrarily wrested from them, but themselves also, violently torn from themselves — sold under the hammer to the highest bidder — to be hand-cuffed and chained by

him, and then driven under the lash to work — when, where, and as long as he pleased; and all this for no alleged crime whatever? My fellow-countrymen, we may say what we will about freedom, free principles, and equal rights, — the above heavy charge stares us in the face in the view of all the world.

Try as the north may to roll it over upon the south, neither God nor man will ever acquit us, until the blood of the millions of our countrymen is washed clean from our “guilty skirts,” by at least testifying loudly against it, in word and in deed, before all Heaven and earth.

SECTION VII

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE SLAVES ARE SO IGNORANT THEY COULD NOT TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES."

THIS objection, on the face of it, would most certainly seem to wear the appearance of a very benevolent and humane one. But humane as it may at first appear to be, yet how can it hardly deserve a passing notice when every body knows that ignorant and degraded as the slaves have always been, most wickedly and cruelly kept, and with all the disadvantages under which they have laboured, they have always not only maintained themselves, but their princely and extravagant masters too, in all their pomp and splendour, some of whom in their rioting and luxury, have cost the poor slaves more hard toil to support them, than it has to support some hundreds of themselves, with their peck of corn a week. And if the slave, loaded down with his heavy and galling chains, has maintained himself and his extravagant master too, what could he not do, strike off these chains and give him all the intelligence and the encouragements of a blessed civilized and christianized life?

If all the slaves in the United States should have their shackles knocked off, and endowed with the privileges of freemen to-morrow, and barely paid a fair compensation for their labour, (which would also be far better for their masters) they would at once be as capable,

from the honest avails of their labour of supporting themselves and their families, in their accustomed mode of living, as any class of people in the world. Of this there can be no question.

No one expects that the slaves should all at once rise from their degradation, and from their simple and scanty food, to all the refinements and luxuries of civilized life. Neither would this for their own good be at all desirable.

As their wants, incident to their free progressive state in civilization, should gradually increase, their knowledge and ability to supply them, would keep pace. Do we not see this throughout every condition of human life, from the honest industrious peasant to the king upon his throne, wherever a government is founded and administered upon principles of justice and equal rights? These views are not only known to be correct beyond controversy, from all the examples of emancipation which the world has ever furnished, but I think they are also based upon practical common sense principles. Let any one read Thome and Kimboll's late account of West India emancipation, and doubt this if he can.

Suppose it be objected, as sometimes it is, that there would be many old and infirm men and women, who would be poor, and could not labour for their support. This is the case among all people of all colours. We are told, that we "shall have the poor always with us."

But would not the southern public, in case of immediate and universal emancipation, be under greater obligation to support these infirm and indigent slaves,

whose lives were well nigh spent in amassing their wealth, than even children are, if possible, to support their infirm and indigent parents? The frame and the constitution of some of these poor, aged, decrepid, and helpless men and women, have been broken down under the task-master's lash; others have toiled out, and well nigh worn out a long and dreary existence to amass wealth for cruel and tyrannical masters.

And furthermore, if all the slaves were emancipated at once, doubtless, coloured children would contribute as cheerfully towards the support of their helpless parents, whenever they could be satisfied they had found them, (especially, if the parents would not disown them on account of colour,) as white children would be to assist their parents.

But happily, we are not left to mere conjecture on these particulars.

It is now settled from experience beyond controversy, that the coloured man whenever and wherever fairly tried, is as fully capable in every respect to sustain himself in civilized life, as the "*uncoloured man*."

It may be asked then, why we do not see the free people of colour better sustain themselves in this country than they do? I answer, that instead of wondering at this, we ought rather to be astonished that they bear up under all their legal, moral, and social disadvantages, privations, and grievances, as well as they do. There are exceptions as among all people, but I believe their comparative statisticks as to their good habits and morals, leave them not behind any other class, and much before some classes of the uncoloured people, in morals, temperance, and economy.

Almost every possible wicked means have been resorted to, and practised by the whites of this country, to crush this long insulted and greatly abused people, into the very earth upon which we tread.

They have always been studiously caricatured and slandered in all variety of ways. They have been cruelly made the sport and the song of boys in the streets, of the drunkard in the bar-room, and of wicked men in high places. Indeed, they have been the objects upon which the wicked pride, prejudice, and caprice of the nation, have been unceasingly acting. Angels have wept, devils laughed, and all Heaven has frowned in righteous anger at these outrages upon humanity.

Let us see from a few facts, whether this people have merited such treatment at our blood-red hands.

The 10,000 fugitives from American oppression, now in Upper Canada, are represented to be as moral, and as industrious a people, as any other class in that province.

The following statistics, among many similar instances that might be cited, are found appended to the remarks of H. B. Stanton, Esq. before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee. They are mostly from public documents, and can be relied on to be correct.

In Philadelphia, the coloured population amount to about 20,000, and are in proportion to the whites as one to nine. The large majority of this population have been slaves, or are the immediate descendants of slaves.

In 1830, the whole number of out-of-door paupers statedly relieved in the city, was 549:—only 22 of these, or about 4 per cent. were people of colour. Of

the paupers admitted into the alms-house, the proportion was nearly the same.

In the same year, the payments by the coloured people of the city to poor funds, was	\$2,500
The expenditures for coloured poor in the same year, was	2,000
	<hr/>
Balance,	500

Thus, so far from being unable to take care of their own poor, besides doing this, pay \$500 per year to support white paupers!! These facts were fully confirmed to the writer of this note, by the late Judge Vaux of Philadelphia.

From careful inquiry and observation, among the 3000 people of colour in Cincinnati, nearly all of whom have been slaves, the same general facts appear. They have not only abundantly supported themselves since they were free, but earned and paid their *masters* for their freedom about \$250,000!!!

The following recently appeared in the Pittsburgh Daily Advocate concerning the coloured population of that city. Probably the majority of these people, also, have been slaves.

“It has been a matter of surprise and gratification to those who have observed the deportment of the coloured population of this city, that there exists among them so much *good order*, and almost an entire freedom from the beastly practice of intoxication, which we too frequently see exhibited in our streets by people of our own race. Their conduct, so far as observed in this city, is *fifty per cent.* in the aggregate, more virtuous

than is the conduct of the same number of whites in the same grade of occupation and society."

This is the people deemed by us, (to our shame be it said,) fit only for slaves — or if ever emancipated, it must be done by an almost endless series of centuries, and even then their chains must by no means be filed off, unless they are at once driven out of their country, as we drive the poor Indian!!! As this insult and slander to this abused people, added to grievous prejudice and oppression, have so long been prevalent through the length and breadth of our land, I have recently felt it my duty to make considerable personal inquiry in relation to it, in a number of villages and cities in our country, and to my own astonishment, the uniform testimony has been, that it was a very rare instance, that a coloured man, woman, or child, was ever seen asking alms from door to door, even in places, and at times, when it was very common for white people. All this is the more marvellous, because they are literally and wickedly shut out, from most kinds of respectable and lucrative employment.

But, says one, what are all your grievances of the free people of colour in this country? I answer, that unreasonable and wicked prejudice, hatred or contempt, lies at the foundation of them all, and slavery lies at the foundation of this, for there is no such thing as prejudice against colour, merely as a *colour*, but only as a *mark of degradation* or caste, by our ideas of association. It is not the colour that is so much loathed and hated, but their poverty and degradation. Proud aristocratic man is altogether prone to shun and despise his fellow beings, in those circumstances which the Saviour

of the world when on earth, most sought for and comforted.

It is from this cause that the coloured people are almost entirely shut out from churches, schools, and every respectable or lucrative employment in this country.

Says onother, for this reason they never can do any thing in this country. Very true, so long as a nation and a people, we conduct thus unreasonably, oppressively, and wickedly towards them. It would undoubtedly, be precisely so with uncoloured, very white, or half coloured people, just reverse the order of things. Not long since, I read an account of a coloured man being excommunicated from a church because he dared to purchase a pew in a meeting house for himself and his family, instead of sitting up in one corner of the gallery assigned for "*niggers*." I am afraid that those who expelled him may themselves finally be expelled from that house above not made with hands. Such kind of *white* religion in this world may be turned into *the very blackness of darkness in the next*.

Like the vile seducer of innocence and virtue, we have as a nation, brought this people into the most abject degradation. And then upon our awfully fearful and unrighteous elevation over them, look down upon the ruins, our own profane hands have caused, with the most wicked and cruel hatred, contempt, and scorn. Is not such conduct more like fiends than christians? At the judgement, I believe that none of us will ever be allowed to plead our wicked prejudices against colour, or against the poor, by way of apology, for our oppression and wickedness.

Were it necessary here, I could relate numerous instances, of similar treatment, as the one just mentioned, even here at the north. It would certainly seem, that he must be almost wilfully blind to passing events, who does not perceive, that the persecution of this people, is increasing in fearful extent and malignity.

Lafayette, when on his last visit to this country, remarked with astonishment, the aggravation of the prejudices against coloured people, and stated, that in the revolutionary war, the black and white soldiers messed together, without hesitation.

This prejudice against the poor and degraded, both of coloured and uncoloured people in our country, has increased in exact proportion to our wealth, our pride, our haughtiness, and independence as a nation.

Yes, the coloured man, when our fathers were well nigh brought into bondage, fought and bled for their freedom, and now, we their sons, continue to enslave him for it.

I am confident, that the real nature and tendency of slavery in this country, in all its bearings upon our liberties, are generally, as yet, comparatively but little understood at the north.

It appears to be the whole policy of slaveholders, from a careful examination of their slave laws, not only to increase the number and strength of the chains, which bind their slaves to their horrid car, but to resort to every expedient and stratagem, which cupidity and a spirit of despotism can devise, to drag multitudes more under their chains, irrespective of colour. It has not been generally known at the north, that there are now many white persons, bought and sold as slaves at the south.

Their first and prime principle in their bloody slave code, will be seen at once, to be eminently calculated, and might have been designed, to bring multitudes of wretched victims, without distinction of colour, into their pit-falls, and doom them and their posterity forever after them, to a life of interminable and intolerable slavery.

The law is this, the child must forever follow the condition of its mother. And as there are already some female slaves white, and many others nearly so, it can readily be seen, that by the progress of that wicked, and adulterous amalgamation, (which so many pretend to be so horrified at, if the slaves should have their freedom, and all their rights protected by law,) that many white persons, to all human appearance, are thus actually doomed to inevitable slavery, with their posterity, for ever after them.

I will here just give one or two instances among many, that might be cited of the fruit of this first principle of the accursed slave code — I select these because they recently happened. The crime however, of enslaving coloured, or uncoloured people, is all the same to an impartial and unprejudiced eye. — The cases alluded to are as follow. — *From the Richmond Whig.*

“\$100 REWARD

“Will be given for the apprehension of my negro, Edmond Renney, alias Roberts. He is about 40 years of age, low and well made, very large mouth, pleasant countenance, and seldom failing to smile when spoken to. He has straight hair, and *complexion so nearly white*, that it is believed a stranger would suppose there was no African blood in him.”

The balance of the advertisement merely directs what jail to lodge him in, &c. Advertisements similar to the above for white slaves, are not unfrequent at the south. *

A few days ago I noticed an extract from a southern paper bidding up a reward for a slave, who was represented to be a preacher of the Methodist denomination, and described as being so nearly white, that a stranger would take him for a white man. Who cannot draw the clear inference, to show what such a state of things must most inevitably ultimately result in? And who will not start at the alarm of fire until his own house be enveloped in the flames? Or, who will believe every alarm to be false, until the city be in ruins? It can also be plainly seen, by the whole tenour of the slave laws, that there are a great variety of ways to engulph human liberty by various slaveholding enactments, by which free coloured people are made to forfeit their freedom forever, and all their posterity after them. I had thought I knew something of slavery, but I found I had no just conception of it before carefully reading the slave laws, and a number of other publications which develope its true character. It will be my object purposely to avoid citing cases of shocking and horrible barbarity, (though volumes might be filled with such relations as the legitimate fruits of the tyranny and cruel despotism of sla-

* A white young man, just escaped from southern bondage, was recently presented to a large and promiscuous audience in New-York, when the audience was asked if they would protect him from being kidnapped, and they universally and enthusiastically responded, "WE WILL!! WE WILL!!" Now was HIS liberty any more precious to *him* than liberty *would* be to every coloured young man in bondage?

very,) and shall endeavour mostly to confine myself to illustrations of general principles. I shall therefore have occasion soon to quote some of the christian and republican laws of this boasted christian and republican nation, both in relation to the slave and the free people of colour in the slave states, as necessarily (the slaveholders being judges) growing out of slavery. I shall do this by way of reply to the last objection considered; that is, that slaves are better off than poor labouring free people at the north, that we may the more fully see the extent and the depth of the degradation of two and a half millions of our suffering fellow beings in our land, and also the comparative wretchedness and misery of five hundred thousand coloured people called free; and further, that we may see why it is, that the coloured people called free in the slave states, (of whom slaveholders complain so much of their being a vagabond race,) are indeed a most wretched, persecuted, and suffering class of people, and that their degradations and wretchedness are directly chargeable upon these same slaveholders, for their cruel and oppressive laws against coloured people, ironically called free, growing out of slavery, as the slaveholders say from "stern necessity." There can be no wonder that the slaveholders and slaves themselves, tauntingly, call this abused and suffering class of people "sheep without a shepherd, exposed to devouring wolves," for they are not even allowed to labour with the *slaves* to procure their daily bread.

SECTION VIII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE IT MAKES THE SLAVEHOLDERS MORE CRUEL TO THEIR SLAVES, AND INSTEAD OF OUR DISCUSSIONS HELPING THE SLAVE, IT PUTS BACK HIS EMANCIPATION. AND MAKES HIS CONDITION WORSE."

THIS assertion, as a general thing, is denied by the anti-slavery men at the south, who feel for the slave, and are doing what they can, under their peculiar and hazardous circumstances, to give liberty to the captive. These men, some of whom were once themselves slaveholders from their location, ought to know. They hold correspondence with the friends of the slave in the different parts of the world, and rejoice that the cause of emancipation, whether seen or not by all, in reality, is rapidly advancing towards a final and glorious consummation. They tell us too that the slaveholders are now beginning to feel conscious, that the eyes not only of the people of the States of this Union are upon them, but the eyes also of the whole civilized world; and that it has already tended in many instances to the mitigation of the usual cruel and rigorous treatment of their slaves; and that in a number of instances, emancipation has already taken place, which they say, in all probability would not have been the case, if all the north and the whole world had either been mute on the subject of slavery, or had been barely apologizing for it in a way indirectly amounting to its entire approval. The right of trial by jury in a number of

the northern states for coloured people claimed by slave hunters as fugitive slaves, has been secured by the efforts of abolitionists ; and the happy result has been, that numbers have justly retained their freedom who would otherwise have been lynched without mercy, and at once dragged into bondage when there would have been none to deliver!!

Some 500 fugitives from the great prison-house in the land of oppression, have been kindly assisted (according to a divine command) on their way to a land called monarchical to obtain their freedom. But suppose even all that the opposers of abolitionists ask be granted ; what then ? If in the incipient stages of any given enterprise no signal signs of good were apparent, would it be either fair or sound argument for its enemies thence to infer, that it should at once and forever be abandoned ? If so, then might the student lay aside his books, and fold his arms to rest for life, because he is not yet familiar with all the lore of Greece and Rome. Then might the farmer say, I will not fell the first tree in the forest, because I do not now see my extensive and highly cultivated fields, waving with an abundant harvest. The mechanic too might lay aside his tools and sit down in indolence and penury, because a seventy-four gun ship which he would build, while all its materials are in a state of nature, was not already floating with majesty and grandeur upon the bosom of the deep — or a city as by a mighty magic power spring up at once out of the forest and the quarry, with its numerous and extensive ranges of splendid buildings, and its hundred stately temples with their glittering spires towering heavenward.

Upon this peculiar mode of reasoning, even the Christian too might well begin to doubt the promises of his

God, and henceforth forever cease to pray for the salvation of a world, because prayer for this object had so long ascended on high, and yet so large a portion of mankind still remain in Pagan darkness! Would this be good logic in the face of all history, observation, and common sense?

With regard to the mitigated treatment of slaves, it is both rational and probable, for some of the slaveholders still flatter themselves, that the men of the civilized world, will yet allow them to hold on to their immortal fellow-beings, as goods and chattels, if they will only reform and correct, as they say, the abuses of the "patriarchal institution." Let such look at the late movement in England, to change the apprenticeship system for immediate and unconditional liberty, in all the islands, where she has not already done it. Yet, be this as it may; does it alter the case? Suppose the opposite to be true; what then? Shall we cease to speak, and to hold up the truth before the whole world, and to do good as we have opportunity, because others, in their tyrannical and unwarrantable interests are infringed upon, and in their exasperations may take occasion therefrom to do evil? Silence upon this subject is a heinous crime, that calls for the just vengeance of a just Heaven. Suppose, for example, that wicked men, through their unbelief and their enmity to the *truth*, should even scourge and imprison their own wives and children, (if they possessed this despotic power, even as slaveholders do over their slaves,) to keep them away from its influence: should the ministers of Christ, therefore, cease to proclaim the truth boldly, in all affection as they ought to proclaim it, and to declare the whole council of God, whether men will hear, or whether they

will forbear? Even if this people should harden their hearts, and turn away from the truth, and perish, as did the Jews, and as have *other* nations; still those, and those only, who have faithfully declared the truth, have always been clear of their blood. It is sometimes darkest just before day; and men often exhibit most of the TIGER, just before they become like the LAMB. There is therefore, yet hope for this oppressive nation. The bloody Saul of Tarsus furnishes the world a most striking example of this. It is recorded that he was in a *rage*, just before it is said of him, "behold! he prayeth." And how grateful is the hope that slaveholders, who now regard abolitionists as their greatest enemies, will yet regard them as BEING, AND HAVING BEEN, THEIR BEST AND MOST FAITHFUL FRIENDS. The wonderful plea to frighten the world, that abolitionists, simply by the public expression of their sentiments against slavery, and asking Congress, as is their right and their duty to do, and as Franklin, Jay, and a host of patriots and philanthropists have done before them, to do no more than to exercise its clear constitutional powers, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in the territories, and the traffic between the States, have put the cause of emancipation back fifty years, has no foundation in point of fact, in past experience, or in sound common sense.

If all men should maintain a profound silence on the subject of slavery, as slaveholders so arrogantly demand, and as some very "*peaceable*" pro-slavery folks so very '*prudently and servilely* obey,' we might as well expect slaveholders would emancipate their horses, as those immortal beings, now in their talons, and which we are told were created in the image of God, and but a little lower than the angels.

SECTION IX.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION, OF SLAVERY BECAUSE THE '*niggers*' ARE ALL THIEVES."

It is by no means admitted, that more *coloured* than *un-coloured* people are thieves, in proportion to their number, in the like morally, mentally, and physically degraded circumstances. But the question at once arises, can there be another people found on the earth, so much oppressed, degraded, and trodden under foot, of a haughty and an unfeeling world? I have already shown that coloured, or uncoloured people, having no character to lose, and in their estimation, no prospect of acquiring one, (save by a special, divine influence,) would generally become reckless in principle and conduct, and often careless of life itself. And, indeed, what man of common sense, understanding the laws of the human mind, could rationally wonder if this people, so greatly wronged and oppressed by men calling themselves Christians, in their exasperations, should not only curse Christians, but the very God of Christians. But, admitting all that this objector would ask, that the coloured people being most cruelly and unjustly deprived of all their rights, and sometimes too, of the food necessary to their very existence, by the whites, sometimes from painful necessity turn about, and do what these whites call "*stealing from them.*" You will allow me to illustrate the cause of it, in most cases, by the relation, simply, of one or two very brief little

anecdotes, showing, at once, the mere common, animal nature of man and beast, ungoverned, or unrestrained by moral principle : —

A cat, finding herself imprisoned with a rat, even when she was suffering the dying pains of hunger, had no disposition to devour her usual prey, to satisfy even these last demands of exhausted nature ; but caressed it — feeling conscious, I suppose, that they were both in the like mutually dependent circumstances.

And again, a man locked himself up in a room with a number of kind, domesticated cats, and for his own cruel amusement, whipped them, until finding no way of escape, in self-defence, (commonly called the “first law of nature,”) they turned upon him and destroyed him.

It is also said, that an eccentric man, keeps for exhibition, on the bridge over the Thames in London, a large cage of living animals, the stronger of which, when at liberty, have always been known to be destroying the weaker ; but, being in like mutually dependent circumstances, they all lived in the most perfect peace and harmony.

Who can but derive a highly instructive moral lesson from all such facts, however small in themselves ? But “none are so deaf as those who will not hear, or so blind as those who will not see.” Who has failed to see, as a general principle, “the world over,” that when men, by any train of fortuitous circumstances, whatever, found themselves exalted far above their surrounding fellow-beings, and as they supposed, independent of them, they have manifested to all, that they lived in a region where the very atmosphere, as it were, had either quite benumbed, or narrowed down, all those common regards

and common sympathies of human life, to a mere point. But, as a hopeful and redeeming feature in the world, there stands out, in bold relief, some bright and honourable, and noble exceptions. The general principle, however, shows most clearly, why slaveholders, and the wealthy and the powerful, as a general thing, do not feel for the poor slave, trodden down under their feet, seemingly, entirely out of their sight. The benevolence of the soul, should at least be sufficiently expansive to encompass all ranks and conditions of the family of man; a feeling more circumscribed than this, could hardly be termed benevolence or philanthropy.

SECTION X.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, SAYS ANOTHER, BECAUSE AMALGAMATION WOULD FOLLOW BY INTERMARRIAGES WITH THE BLACKS."

THIS, with some persons of most exquisite and refined taste and sensibility, has been a formidable objection to emancipation. And while they have been apparently *horrified* at the visionary prospect of *legal* amalgamation, which, they supposed, at some very distant day, might, in some instances, take place, as they say, by intermarriages, the nerves of this same class of good people have not, in the mean time, appeared to be in the least degree disturbed, at the awfully wicked and extensive process of amalgamation, which, every body knows, has always been going on in the slave states, — and that, too, in open and shameless violation and defiance of the laws of God and man; with the dreadful design, too, on the part of the slaveholder, of selling his own offspring into interminable and cruel bondage.

The five hundred thousand mulattos in this land, are, with few exceptions, but so many living monuments and standing reproofs to our nation, of the dreadful evils of slavery, and I fear, too, of pending judgements to be visited upon us for our national sins. But, says one, let those be guilty of such violations of the laws of God and man, who will: it is a voluntary business, and I

cannot prevent it. Would not the same principle hold good in case of lawful amalgamation by intermarriages? Would it not, of course, be a "voluntary business," and therefore without any responsibility of a third person? As I am not greatly skilled in ethics, I will leave it to those who are, to say, whether voluntary *legal* amalgamation would involve moral guilt. But that *illegal* or *ADULTEROUS* amalgamation involves a vast and most fearful amount of *moral guilt* in individuals and the nation, cannot, for a moment, admit of a doubt: and every man in the nation, who does not, in addition to publicly testifying against American slavery in all its forms and abominations, do all in his power, also, constitutionally and peacefully, to abolish it speedily, in an important sense, becomes accessory and partaker in this constantly accumulating load of pollution and guilt upon the nation. And I wish it to be distinctly understood here, that while I oppose illegal amalgamation as I do slavery itself, I do not ADVOCATE EVEN LEGAL AMALGAMATION. This is a matter with which, as a nation, or as abolitionists, in the very nature of the case, we *cannot* and *ought* not to have any thing whatever to do. It would just as much, and no more, become us to opionate and to legislate about intermarriages between *native born* and *adopted Americans*. All see and feel that this would be an infringement upon our inalienable rights. Let me illustrate my meaning by one or two examples, and I think that all who aim at JUSTICE to their fellow-men, as their VERY FIRST PRINCIPLE OF ACTION, will most fully coincide with this plain common-sense principle. France, for example, owed the United States a large amount of money. It was a just and undisputed claim.

Now, suppose, as a condition of its payment, France had required the people of the United States to obligate themselves never to expend *any* part of this money in a war with her in any case whatever; and that no American should ever again set his foot upon her shores without forfeiting his life or his liberty: think you GENERAL JACKSON, as the efficient executive of an independent nation, would have consented to any such humbling and degrading terms? And if *he had*, would not the whole nation, almost with the voice of one man, have cried out, this cannot be the act of GENERAL JACKSON? And had it even proved so, would not the nation still have exclaimed, Let the money and all France sink, before we will receive it on any such terms? This may be too strong language. If so, the reader can easily supply an imaginary modification to suit his own taste. I have used this ILLUSTRATION, being fully aware that there are very many valuable men who think it wrong to go to war in any case whatever. But still the abstract doctrine of justice, demonstrated by it, shows the universal common sense of mankind, that we are always bound to do justice to all men, entirely independent of selfish conditions. How would a gentleman look, who should decline paying a coloured washerwoman her just bill for her hard toil, merely on account of her colour? Finite, short-sighted man, moreover, is not LEGALLY, neither can he be MORALLY, responsible, for consequences resulting from the performance of acts of justice, in the abstract, to all men.

Do honest men hesitate a moment to discharge honest debts, on the ground that the just receiver of the money may possibly, in some way, make a bad use of it?

I will adduce one more illustration of my meaning, which appears to me to be clear, and exactly in point. Suppose a poor, but worthy young man, had wrought faithfully for some man of wealth for many long years without taking up any more of his hard-earned wages than the most scanty living. His wages had accumulated to a considerable amount, which he now demanded.

The wealthy man, for whom this young man had so long and so faithfully laboured, admitted the claim to be just to the full extent; but having a favourite daughter, and fearing she might "fall in love" with the money or the young man, and marry him, withholds it forever, and compels this same young man to work on for him, through life, for the scanty pittance of his living: and as the rich man died, to will the young man's posterity (according to the genuine slaveholding code,) for the benefit of his own already wealthy heirs. Should motives so base, and so unworthy of man, as in this case, ever be seriously attempted to be carried out into practice, would not the simultaneous burst of virtuous indignation, of the whole community, be "SHAME ON SUCH A man!" Never mind the DAUGHTER, but demand of the TYRANT, "the just wages," to the uttermost farthing.

By the very simple mode of illustrations which I have chosen here, it appears to me that no one can fail to see the force and propriety of the high and invariable obligatory principle, *upon* all men, to do immediate justice to every one, altogether independent of any known conditions, or conjectured consequences.

Must we not all see that this "*quibbling and parleying*," about conditions and consequences, is altogether a selfish business, and has nothing, whatever, to do with

the straightforward act of "doing justice to all men, for the sake of justice." The truth is, that just so far as we impose restrictions upon our fellow-men, as the express conditions of our performing a simple act of justice to them, in the same ratio it is an abridgement of their inalienable equal liberties, and equal rights, with us, which were given to all men by the great first Giver of every right, or of "every good and perfect gift," and which are ever regarded by Him, with a *single* eye.

Abolitionists have nothing, whatever, to do with amalgamation, any more than anti-abolitionists have. It is *their* business, and should be the business of this whole nation, without delay, to restore immediately, the down-trodden millions of our fellow-countrymen, under our feet, all their sacred rights, as men, and immortal and accountable beings, which we, by a tyrannical hand, have wrongfully and most wickedly wrested from them. There is nothing more common, when men are opposed to a cause, than for them to array the strongest prejudices in human nature against it.

Hence, we have heard the note of alarm, long and loud, — amalgamation! amalgamation! sounded over the whole length and breadth of the land; and that, too, by some who were PRACTICALLY and foully implicated in the very charge which THEMSELVES would falsely prefer against others. In a certain stage of the temperance cause, for instance, the cry of church and state was reiterated from one end of the land to the other, by its opposers, knowing well that the people dreaded nothing more.

But with regard to amalgamation, who cannot see that it might much more effectually be prevented, if th

people should require it to be done, by legal enactments, when all the sacred rights and immunities of that down-trodden and much abused people, should be restored to them, and all their interests and relations of life, securely guarded, by the strong arm of law; and when **BASE, UNPRINCIPLED MEN, COULD NO LONGER PROPAGATE THEIR SPECIES, FOR THE UNHALLOWED PURPOSES OF GAIN, BY SELLING THEIR OWN CHILDREN INTO ENDLESS SLAVERY, TO THEIR LATEST POSTERITY.** I do not say that I should favour such a law; for I must go for universal freedom and equal rights, to every unoffending human being, regardless of colour or circumstances. I must abide by the doctrine, that that which God joins together no man must separate. I mean those inalienable rights of man, which our fathers meant, in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. "But," says one, "I am in favour of sending the '*niggers*' all home, where they belong." So am I. But where on earth is our home, if not in the land of our birth, the toils of life, and the graves of our fathers? Could not our five hundred thousand mulattos, in this nation, in a special manner, with all propriety, most solemnly reply to us, as a nation, as did the little ragged boy to his father, who, when he had company, being ashamed of the appearance of the little fellow, sternly told him to "run home." "Father," said his unsuspecting child, "where is my home?"

Who will dare say, "let the sin be on my head, of rending asunder all the sacred ties of kindred blood, of this greatly oppressed people, both of the living and of the dead, by a cruel, compulsory expatriation." But

of the utter impracticability of colonization, and of the decided hostility of slaveholding colonizationists, ever to emancipate their slaves to colonize them ; and also of the whole favourable bearing to perpetuate slavery, of the visionary colonization scheme ; I shall say more hereafter, which I trust may be convincing to every unprejudiced benevolent mind, that it is very far from being a system of benevolence, though many, no doubt, have honestly thought it so.

SECTION XI.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE BLACKS ARE SO 'EXTREMELY OFFENSIVE,' I CANNOT BEAR THEM ABOUT ME."

THIS same "exquisite" creature, in a short time after making this OSTENTATIOUS PARADE, to give us an exhibition of her *extreme refinement, and great delicacy of taste*, had occasion to give a "*splendid party*;" and forgetting what she had said, was at much trouble and pains to procure none but "COLOURED WAITERS," to keep up the "STYLE."

Was not this consistent UNCOLOURED lady, herself doubly a slave: to prejudice in the one case, and to fashion in the other? Who must not see, *that slavery and degradation*, and not *colour*, is the foundation of all this wicked, proud, and haughty prejudice; or, to speak more properly, scorn and contempt of the poor, degraded, and helpless, of this cold and heartless world. Let us take a case or two more, and see how it looks, and ascertain what we can make of it. There are now, in the city of New-York, various institutions of amusement, where the keepers indignantly repulse the entrance, for a moment, of all FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR, however respectable, or well behaved; but freely admit them in the *capacity of slaves or servants*. I heard a coloured gentleman of sound sense remark, that the more respectable a coloured man appeared, the more some white

people would abuse him. Such wickedness and hypocrisy as this, when tolerated and countenanced by community, generally, is enough to draw down the righteous judgements of Heaven upon any people on earth. In times of common danger, slaves have often been emancipated, and uncoloured men forgot they were in arms, side by side, in common defence, for their common interests and safety. This is all human nature, both among coloured and uncoloured people. When men fear no danger, every one appears to be exalting himself above his fellow. And we all see, that in this way, by long and uninterrupted prosperity, nations, as well as individuals, often become proud, and greatly lifted up, to a giddy and dangerous eminence. But when a sense of some great and common danger pervades a whole country, we see the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the learned and the unlearned; and, indeed, all ranks and conditions of men, meet and mingle together, and look upon each other as brethren of one common family, feeling a mutual and a general community of interests. Should other powers combine to subvert our liberties, it would not be strange to see coloured and uncoloured men, again defending their common country, side by side.

I suppose it is for the like wise purposes of salutary humiliation, that we are told, that it is better for us to go to the house of mourning, than to go to the house of feasting. But for these things, may a kind heaven forbid, that, as a nation, we should ever be called to mourn, *as one that "mourneth without a comforter."* There are aristocrats here, at the north, who will ride by the side of "black" drivers, day after day, in the capacity of ser-

vants, while it flatters their pride and their vanity, to have the world gaze upon them, as gentlemen of dignity and fortune, perchance, that they can order their boy, Jack, Joe, or Jim, with all the haughty airs of a master over his slave; and at the same time, these same aristocrats would feel themselves very highly insulted, if a stage, packet, or steamboat proprietor, or agent, should dare presume to give the most respectable free person of colour, a passage, at the same time, on equal terms, for the same money, with themselves, under any circumstances whatever.

At the last anniversary of the New-York State Anti-slavery Society, a coloured clergyman from the city of New-York, Rev. THEODORE S. WRIGHT, portrayed in a most touching manner a few of the miseries, wrongs, and oppressions which this cruel prejudice wrought upon the coloured people. I verily felt, while listening to his statements, that this nation had, as it were, leagued together to crush this people into the dust, until a righteous God should appear with his strong arm for their deliverance, by taking vengeance on their oppressors. After showing the grievous disabilities which the coloured people in this country laboured under on account of this prejudice, in being debarred the privilege of churches, and of schools, trades, &c. &c. for the benefit of their children; and how mortifying and afflicting it was to look upon their dear children, which they tenderly loved, and whose respectability and welfare they ardently desired, but were not allowed to promote them, being weighed down to the earth with unreasonable prejudice; he went on to relate a number of instances of great

affliction and death which had been caused by it, a few of which I will recite in his own language.

“Miss Betsey Stockton, a coloured lady, who accompanied Mrs. Stewart on the first mission, I think, to the Sandwich Islands, was travelling for her health. In coming up the North River, although under the protection of a white gentleman, and although an intelligent and philanthropic woman, who had crossed the ocean to aid in enlightening and converting the heathen, she was not permitted a place beneath the deck to lay her head in the damp night. By this exposure, her health was injured and her life endangered. Mrs. Smith was a pious woman, and lived in Newburgh. She was going down the North River on the steamboat. Night began to come on, and she thought of the infant she held in her arms. She went to the captain of the steamboat and plead for a place, where with her dear babe she might be comfortable, and its life and health not be jeopardded. Such a place she was refused. She arrived at the city of New-York. Her child died, and after a short period she died herself, from the cold she then caught.

“I might mention also the case of the Rev. Jeremiah Gloucester, former pastor of the Second Presbyterian church in Philadelphia. Eight years since, he travelled on his professional tour through New England—was excluded from a cabin of a steamboat over night. Although in poor health, like his master, he had not where to lay his head. His exposure threw him into a decline, and he died.

“In the fall of 1828, a gentleman and lady, friends

of mine, with a little infant, came from Princeton, New-Jersey, to visit me at Schenectady. On the steamboat between New-York and Albany they were denied a place to lay their heads at night. When they arrived at Albany, they sought a passage in the stage for Schenectady. The woman being light-complexioned, would pass for white. She was interrogated very promptly whether she wished a passage. She told them she did. Her baggage was put on the stage. But when she spoke to her husband, and they discovered he was a dark man, the baggage was taken off the stage, and they refused a passage in it. She sat down upon the baggage with her babe in her arms, and wept; when some benevolent friend seeing their condition, kindly procured for them a private vehicle at an expense of four dollars, which conveyed them to my residence in Schenectady. On their return from their visit, they went to Albany, expecting to meet the steamboat Albany, which at that time was very favourably disposed towards the people of colour; but, unfortunately, they were a few moments too late. Their condition then was lamentable. I went from steamboat to steamboat, and made great efforts to procure a passage for them, so that the mother, with her infant, might return comfortably; but in vain was my attempt. Whilst her husband left her and went home, I was compelled to return with her to my residence in Schenectady. When the boat returned to Albany, with my companion, I accompanied her home to Princeton."

On Mr. Wright's return with his companion to Schenectady, he gives an unvarnished and most affecting account of the inhuman treatment they met with, in

being exposed on deck in cold stormy nights late in the fall, whereby his wife, to whom he was much attached, took cold and suddenly died.

Mr. Wright cited another remarkable instance, as illustrative of the unfavourable influence which such unchristian prejudice must have upon the unchristianized part of the world. Some native Africans (said to have been converted to Christianity through the labours of some American missionaries to Africa) came into New-York in an African vessel, and stopping over Sabbath went to church, but sat on the steps through the whole service, because no one would give them a seat, and that this was no uncommon thing. What a specimen of American Christianity must they carry back to Africa! Would such a report, if believed, assist our missionaries to convert all Africa to our religion?

In all these cases of unchristian proscription and oppression of *free* coloured people, it is well known that blacks who would bow down and degrade themselves to the whites to breathe the air of servitude or slavery in waiting on the whites, had free access to churches, steamboats, stages, &c. Will not the time come when it must be said to such whites, "*these shall be received, but ye yourselves shall be thrust out?*"

Not long since, a lady (so claiming to be) from St. Louis, on her way to Genesee county, N. Y. (her native place,) on a visit to her friends, utterly refused to ride in a stage-coach a few miles from Buffalo with a free person of colour, of good character and of respectable appearance, although this slaveholding "lady" had a black female slave, of overgrown dimensions, by her side. And strange to tell, she found northern men

who had christened themselves by all the good names of the land, such as CHRISTIAN, REPUBLICAN, DEMOCRAT, WHIG, &c., who very politely united in the aristocratic protestation of this YANKEE SLAVEHOLDING LADY.

Northern *christians and republicans* could very cheerfully ride with southern SLAVEHOLDERS, AND THEIR COLOURED SLAVES, but on no account could they be induced to ride with northern COLOURED FREEMEN!! Shame on such northern *christians and republicans*, — if, indeed, such they ought to be called, — who will uphold such conduct by apologising for it, for this is nothing but a modified form of northern PRACTICAL SLAVERY.

If every professed christian at the north was of this character, I should regard the north as having even more of the blood of slavery upon it than the south, and should tremble for fear it might sink, or some dreadful calamity, in righteousness, rained down upon it from above.

I once myself, some few years since, witnessed a scene in a northern city, which I have never been able to regard but with utter abhorrence. A well-dressed coloured girl, of respectable appearance, had paid for a seat in the stage to visit her sister, whom, I was informed, she had not seen for some years. The girl was the last one who stepped into the stage; and as she took her seat, a lusty, full-grown and full-blooded *aristocrat*, who had previously taken *his* seat, perceiving, by his aristocratic eye, that the girl breathed the pure and exhilarating air of freedom, the same as did his honour, he indignantly bounded out, and insolently demanded of the agent if he meant to insult him! The young man, at

first not knowing what he meant, inquired, "What is the matter?" On being haughtily and roughly told by the great man, that he did not ride with "niggers," the young man "duffed the beaver," and quickly refunded the fare to the astonished and unsuspecting girl; took off her trunk, and informed her she could not ride. She immediately, in silence, but evidently much mortified, unaided, stepped out of the coach, and all was peace and quietness. The good man resumed his royal seat with his wonted dignified complacency, apparently fearless of farther molestation: crack went the whip; and the poor, helpless, coloured girl, left in the street to visit her sister the best way she could. But, for the honour of the northern portion of our country, I am happy to be able to say, as I was credibly informed, that this "*gentleman*" did not live nearer than a thousand miles of this northern city; and, for one, I most certainly could wish, for the credit of a city in a land of freedom, that no other such "*gentleman*" would ever come within two thousand miles of it, unless, indeed, in the hopes that he might thereby imbibe better principles, and learn more civility.

I cannot forbear here, to give an extract from a letter published at Glasgow, May 20, 1837, directed to an American, Captain Bigley, of the brig Cononicus, then about to sail from that port to America, on the occasion of his refusing Dr. JAMES McCUNE SMITH a passage in his vessel to New-York, his native city, whence he was driven for the crime of having a coloured skin to Glasgow, to receive his education. The circumstance produced great excitement in Glasgow, and just indignation against this American captain. The letter was headed —

**"CONTRABAND IMPORTATION—THE
AMERICAN ANTICHRISTIAN PREJU-
DICE AGAINST COLOURED PERSONS
IMPORTED INTO SCOTLAND."**

My object, more particularly in making this extract, is to show that slavery is the cause of this vain, proud, and contemptuous prejudice against coloured people; and that it does not exist in countries where coloured people are not enslaved. American interests, northern and southern, and American associations of thought, which have "grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength," in relation to coloured people, is now the millstone about the necks of three millions of our own wretched and greatly abused countrymen.

The extract alluded to in relation to the American captain refusing Dr. SMITH a passage from a foreign port to his native city, commences as follows :

"This, sir, is a public offence; because you publicly advertised your vessel for passengers, without stipulation as to colour, or any other exception; and when a gentleman, intending to become a passenger, applies, as above narrated, you turn round and say, 'No, sir; I can't take you; your complexion is not so fair as mine.' You should, in your announcement, have stated, that you would take passengers only provided they are white—not coloured people—and then the public would have known your conditions and exceptions; but it is right now that the public should know that they are such; and it is to be hoped that THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND WILL APPRECIATE BOTH YOU AND THEM. In your country you associate with, and inflict no disqualifica-

tions on a man, on account of the place of his birth, or his religion. He is equally eligible to places of trust and power, whether he be of Dutch, French, English, German, Grecian, Turkish, or any other origin, provided he be white, and have no African blood in his veins; and you admit men of all religious denominations, — Baptists, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Jew, Turk, Mahometan, or Infidel; and you would give a passage to, or associate with, any of these, or with any white man, although he may be flying from his creditors, whom he may have defrauded, or from the gallows, to which the laws of his country may have sentenced him: but to a ‘*coloured man*,’ who has sustained an unblemished character, — who has pursued his studies with credit and distinction, surrounded daily with white students, — who has honourably taken his successive degrees; and, finally, that of M. D. in *Glasgow University*, to which he had been driven from New-York, his native place, — these illiberal prejudices interdicting him from pursuing his studies in any American university, — who, on account of his mental acquirements, his liberal education, his moral and religious character, and polite behaviour, is unquestionably entitled to the rank of a gentleman; and who, as such, has freely associated in this city (Glasgow,) and elsewhere throughout the kingdom, with gentlemen and ladies of the most respectable classes of society, — at their private tables, and in parties, and in public meetings: to such a one you refuse a passage in your vessel, for the good substantial reason that God had been pleased to make his complexion different from yours!!”

And have you any reason to infer that *your* complexion is more acceptable in the sight of God, — of that God who has “made, of one blood, all the nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth?” Do you not know that God looketh upon the *heart*, *not upon the colour of the skin*, as a test of admission to His divine favour and presence in the heavenly kingdom? You may refuse him a passage in your vessel, but you cannot refuse him a passage to Heaven; you may refuse to associate with coloured persons on earth, but will not refuse to associate with them in Heaven? **MAY THEY NOT STAND THERE IN JUDGEMENT AGAINST YOU, AND YOUR COUNTRYMEN, FOR THE INJUSTICE DONE THEM HERE?*** Or, think you that there will be one Heaven for whites, and another for coloured people? Is it so that you have read your Bible? To any of my fellow-countrymen, whether by nativity or adoption, who may read all these things, and perhaps many more like unto them, and may still have no heart to feel that such treatment to their fellow-beings is not only ungentlemanly, unjust, and inhuman, but also a heinous sin against Heaven and earth, I would say to them at least, beware, lest this dreadful spell of unrighteous prejudice carry you so far to aid and abet the oppressor in your nation, that it do not soon irresistibly

* Since writing this, I have had the pleasure of an interview with Dr. SMITH in New-York, where he is established in his profession, — and also of hearing an address, before 3000 people, from him, in behalf of his enslaved countrymen, with so much intelligence, classical taste, eloquence, and power, as would make any *uncoloured* man in the land almost desire to be a *coloured* man.

react upon you, like the inundation of a mighty water, to deluge yourselves, your children, and your whole country, in one common destruction.

And now, to sum up the whole matter of this intuitive, inveterate, insurmountable, narrow-souled, hatred and contempt of colour, which, some say, (let alone inter-marriages,) will never allow us to treat coloured people even with Christian civility and Christian kindness, from the light of the philosophy of human nature, and also from all history and observation, who that *is divested of prejudice, "clothed, and in his right mind,"* cannot readily conceive of an entire reverse of circumstances, in which the coloured people, in their turn, might look upon the UNCOLOURED with all that contempt with which we maintain our slavery, are now haughtily and wickedly so prone to look upon them. Who cannot see that this same prejudice, *then*, would be against the *uncoloured*, and the *veneration* for the *coloured* people?

This point I shall leave here, as claiming no further notice in this place. It is certainly a most profitable and interesting theme of contemplation, to take into serious consideration, why this prejudice (so called) against colour, does not exist in countries where slavery is unknown. That it does not, cannot be denied, for it has long been a matter of history to the great disgrace of proud and contemptuous slaveholding nations.

However it may appear to others, I cannot say; but to me, it certainly seems as clear as that two and two make four, that the only reason, that can possibly be given, is, that in countries where the coloured people have never been enslaved, the people grow up perfectly

free from all those associations of meanness, degradation, and wretchedness, as belonging peculiarly to people of a particular complexion, or colour of the skin. On the other hand, where the coloured people have always been enslaved and degraded, all the people grow up with all these horrible associations of every thing that is mean and degraded, as belonging peculiarly to persons of a dark complexion.

This is certainly, most painfully amusing to one who contemplates this principle in all its bearings, with somewhat of a philosophical eye, and a benevolent heart; for in all this, he cannot but regard adults as "fanciful children of a larger growth."

In a country where the people grow up with notions of associating every thing that is low and degraded, with persons of a dark complexion, we find that materials have been in great demand by some, for improving the complexion, so as to render it if possible, the very opposite of black. Some too have killed themselves in endeavouring to produce a "*delicate pale complexion.*"

But just reverse the order of things, and no doubt the happy man, who should be so extremely lucky, as to make the important discovery of giving the highest possible colour and polish to the skin, would at once have made his fortune forever.

This vain, and proud, and haughty disposition in man, by the mere instinctive impulses of his selfish nature, if not constantly guarded, and resisted by a higher and a more ennobling principle, will prompt us, equally to seek the favour of the strong and the powerful, and to avoid, or oppress the weak and the helpless.

We are very prone, in this rapid and short journey of ambitious life, to do, like the weary and sun-burnt traveller, who swiftly passes by, with but a glance at every object that can afford him no protection from the intensity of the beams of the mid-day sun, in order the more speedily and securely to repose himself under the cedars of Lebanon, or the tall sturdy oaks of Bashan.

Human nature thus shows itself in a great variety of ways, and often under very ingenious and plausible pretences.

For example : in relation to what is commonly called prejudice against colour, many, doubtless, have been so long accustomed to think it to be as much instinctive, as that we *like* the *sweetness* of the *honey-comb*, and *dislike* the *bitterness* of *gall*; that philosophising with such persons on the subject, may be of but little avail.

It reminds one, however, of a man, who having been so long addicted to uttering falsehoods, that after he had truly reformed in *principle*, found to his astonishment and grief, that many of the falsehoods, and those too which he well knew to be such, when first uttered, he had actually embraced as TRUTHS.

Some of the good people in this land, should they ever be brought to themselves on the subject of slavery, "clothed and in their right minds," would hardly believe it possible that they had once been employed in making back gallery-pews low enough to sink the coloured people entirely out of sight of the whites, in the temples erected for the worship of that BEING WHO "MADE OF ONE BLOOD, ALL THE NATIONS THAT DWELL UPON THE FACE OF THE EARTH, AND WHO IS NO RESPECTER OF PERSONS."

And to tell a good colonizationist at the present time, (while so thickly enveloped by all his "*black prejudices*,") that the whole colonization scheme, is but carrying out this same principle of hatred and contempt of our poor brother, upon a broader and a grander scale, he would feel himself almost insulted.

One sixth part only of the human family are white. Five-sixths of the whole human race, are by the hand of our Common Parent, complexioned from the olive to the copper colour, and from the copper colour, still darker.

My object, in saying as much as I have, in regard to these aristocratic principles, of what is commonly called prejudice against colour, is to bring to our minds, not only to see the *wickedness*, but the *extreme folly* of our entertaining, and deliberately cherishing such feelings against people who happen to be somewhat differently complexioned to ourselves, that we cannot extend to them even the common civilities, hospitalities, or the charities of life.

This wonderful monster in human nature, is nothing more nor less than hateful *aristocratic caste*. To say the least of it, it is anti-republican, unreasonable, unkind, illiberal, not to say unchristian and wicked.

It must be banished from the great brotherhood of man, or *infidelity, aristocracy, monarchy, and despotism*, with their iron sway, are forever destined triumphantly to reign over the world, *all the prayers and professions of Christians, and all the idle encomiums upon republicanism to the contrary notwithstanding.*

SECTION XII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE BIBLE TOLERATES SLAVERY."

HAD I room in this place, I think I could most effectually prove that this is altogether a false and distorted view of the blessed, humane, and benevolent doctrines of the Bible, which proclaim peace and good-will to man, and liberty to the captive. But as men abundantly competent, have of late ably and most triumphantly defended this precious volume of good-will to the upright and merciful, as well as woe to the oppressor, from this foul slander ; I shall content myself for the present, to leave the reply to this objection principally in their hands. And suffice it to say here, that most persons, especially at the north, who start this objection to the discussion of slavery, are very careful notwithstanding, to give us particular notice in the outset, that "*they*, too, are greatly opposed to slavery, thereby (themselves being judges) virtually pretending to hold a better doctrine than the Bible itself contains. If this is not setting up our wisdom above divine wisdom, and our righteousness above that which is revealed, if it be not indeed the very essence and the height of *self-righteousness*, I must acknowledge I know not what can be. It also, inadvertently, betrays a total unbelief in divine revelation itself.

And indeed, who could or should believe the Bible, if it did actually countenance and uphold the institution of American slavery in all its cruelty, violence, and abominations, far exceeding those of Egyptian bondage, for which Pharaoh and his host were so signally destroyed?

The negative as well as positive practical inculcation by the American churches, of this false and dreadful doctrine, has doubtless already done more to aid skepticism in all divine truth, with its endless train of consequent evils in the United States, than all the other glaring excrescences of the Christian churches in our country. Infidelity itself has stood aghast! and been exclaiming in its dark soliloquy, "if the church will violently rend asunder all the tenderest ties of life, handcuff, chain, and sell her own members to the highest bidders, to be driven away into a returnless and hopeless bondage, what will she *not* do? and is such religion from above, or from beneath? And what better is a church that can remain mute or apologise for such deeds of darkness and death, than *that* church which actually takes the bloody knife into its own hand.

Such a doctrine, long theoretically and practically inculcated by *any* religion, would be enough to overthrow it from the moral sense of all mankind. Palsied will be the tongues of the advocates of such a religion. The kind of servitude spoken of in the Bible, except by divine injunction, by way of special chastisements for the sins of a people, is no more like southern slavery, than unmixed despotism is like pure Christianity.

Who that reads the Bible, can fail to see throughout its sacred pages, that the Almighty has clearly manifest-

ed his righteous displeasure and abhorrence to the great sin of oppression, and his denunciations against the oppressor, in fearful language and somewhat similar to the following: "And the Lord said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their task masters, for I know their sorrow." "Now therefore behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me, and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them." "He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, shall surely come to want." "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that snuffeth at him." "Rob not the poor because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the gate." "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee even among you, in that place which he shall choose; in one of thy gates where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." "*Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him nought for his work.*" "If a man be found *stealing* any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh *merchandise* of him or selleth him, then that *thief* shall die, and thou shalt put evil away from among you." "And I break the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth."

This last passage is doubtless figurative language. Can these and like passages be the source whence some of our northern pro-slavery friends receive their intimations, that while speaking of oppressors, and all the

dreadful oppressions and the abominations of slavery in the land; they must be extremely careful to use very soft and smooth terms to "daub with untempered mortar," that while slaveholders are loudly and shamelessly claiming slavery to be the "best basis of freedom," a "divine institution," and also aiming to enslave the free; we should just merely say, for fear of offending them, "*slavery is unfortunately entailed upon our 'southern brethren,' and I do not see how they can ever possibly get rid of it.*" Is not all this too much! Like the tender mother who besought the father not to correct the wilful child for "*it was sick,*" and could not say "I WILL?" Ah, says one, you don't understand how to address our "southern brethren" — "*they are a very chivalrous people!!*"

But I cannot forbear here to quote as being in place, the very eloquent and forcible manner in which Rev. E. P. BARROWS, jun., of New-York, closes an interesting address on this subject.

"When we consider, said he, that men have pleaded the authority of the Holy Scriptures, as a warrant to burn men alive for heresy; that the monarchs of Europe profess to derive their despotic powers immediately from God, and call all resistance to their authority rebellion against Heaven, and that satan himself quoted Scripture, for the purpose of inducing our Saviour into sin, we need not wonder to find the advocates of slavery claiming the sanction of a supremely benevolent God, in favour of a supremely selfish system, which authorizes men to be bought and sold, like cattle in the market, which contemptuously disregards the family relation which God himself has established, and which seals up

from the poor slave the word of eternal life, which is able to make him wise unto salvation. When God shall call evil good and good evil, when he shall put darkness for light and light for darkness, bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter, then and not till then, will he be found the patron of the American slave system."

It should ever be remembered, that *voluntary service* for a longer or a shorter, a definite or an indefinite time is not slavery, but freedom.

In all this, there would be no violation of the inalienable rights of man; no reducing the image of our Maker into the scale of the brutes, or to a mere chattel in law.

There is one point of view, however, (said Gerrit Smith, Esq. in a late speech on the subject of temperance,) "in which this running to the Bible for the justification of wicked practices, is consoling and cheering to the friends of that blessed book. It shows that the Bible is the acknowledged standard of right and wrong, and that men are uneasy in those sins, for which they are hunting up Bible apologies." Who can but regard this a very happy and correct thought? "for were there no genuine banks, there could be no counterfeit paper!"

I would refer any one, who may have any idea that the Bible sanctions slavery, to Mr. Weld's able and unanswerable Bible argument against slavery.

SECTION XIII.

"I HEARD ONE MAN SAY HE WAS OPPOSED TO SLAVERY, BUT WAS OPPOSED TO DISCUSSING IT BECAUSE HE THOUGHT NO BETTER OF ABOLITIONISTS THAN HE DID OF SLAVEHOLDERS; FOR ALL MEN, AS HE SAID, WERE ALIKE SELFISH IN WHATEVER THEY DO."

He exclaimed with an air of considerable importance, "there is no difference in mankind." This was his objection to the discussion of slavery.

This reminds me of a curious fable, but which I cannot stop here to relate.

I would, however, just ask this square-rule logician, what he would think, in "these hard times for cash," should one of his old debtors approach him with this extraordinary address — "Sir, I honestly owe you five hundred dollars, the amount of which I have now in my pocket, which I might and ought to pay to you, but will not do it for the important reason, that I shall be just as selfish in paying you the money as you will be in receiving it?"

Do we not all generally suspect one's principles, when we find him thus dealing in the gross, with the motives of all mankind?

Do not these indiscriminate and wholesale dealers in the motives of all men, probably act somewhat from a

spirit of envy and general detraction, designing to bring all men's principles and merit down on a level with their own ?

I leave this suggestion, from which all may draw such inferences as they please. It is with general principles of action, and with conduct resulting from such principles, that men mainly have to do with men. The high and sacred scrutiny of motives, is the peculiar prerogative of the great arbiter of conscience. To say the least, one must be greatly straitened, to resort to such a fancied hiding place, from which to aid the oppressor, by venting his malignity against abolitionists, and the poor oppressed slave.

SECTION XIV.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE SLAVES ARE NOT FITTED FOR FREEDOM."

THIS objector seems not to consider, that this greatly oppressed class of his fellow-men, are from the very nature of slavery itself, even necessarily (as the slaveholders themselves admit,) becoming more and more oppressed, and consequently more and more unfitted for freedom.

This dreadful and lamentable fact, is obvious, on the very face of the whole system of violating all the rights of men.

And can this objector for a moment, suppose that the poor slave, loaded down with all his chains, (which the slaveholders say are absolutely necessary, and must still be increased,) and entirely enveloped in mental and moral darkness, can possibly be made to feel and to understand all the blessings of civilized life, in which he is in no sense allowed to participate?

As well might we instil the heavenly principles, and the benign spirit of the gospel of peace and love, into the minds of men, by all the pains and the horrors of the *inquisition*. As well might we teach a deaf man sounds, or a blind man colours. And more than this,

were it even practicable to teach men all the arts and sciences of civilized life, while in a state of abject slavery, it never has, and probably never will be done, for the very obvious reason, that the whole piratical and accursed business and policy, of making merchandise of human beings, *beginning, middle, and end, is but one dreadful scene of violence and ruin, to all possible rights of the enslaved.*

The truth is, the guilty conscience of the slaveholder, while he holds on his vampire grasp upon his human prey, dares not allow him to give them the least possible means of knowing and avenging their wrongs, any more than the pirate himself dares put his bloody implements into the hands of his ill-fated victims. But when the slaveholder draws the iron from the soul, lets go his grasp, and sets his slaves at full liberty to breathe their native air of freedom, as their benevolent Creator designed them to do, they leap for joy, and at once rally around him as their best friend, and bury their past wrongs forever. They can then begin to learn, and to appreciate the invaluable boon of civil liberty, and like men raised from the dead, to the astonishment of all, "*they are seen walking uprightly.*"*

Why do some men learn more than others in civilized life? There is, doubtless, some difference by nature.

But the principal reason, I conceive, is, that some mark out a course of life agreeable to them, think they see their account in it, take encouragement, and

* For the truth of this, read the late account of emancipation in the West Indies, by Thome and Kimball.

freely and ardently pursue it, and concentrate the whole energy of their powers to the accomplishment of their favourite object.

All this enterprise is but the natural result of their freedom of thought, and of action, or of men's pursuing "their own happiness in their own way," just as the noble but desecrated constitution of our country, fully guarantees to every American citizen.

SECTION XV.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE BLACKS ARE AN INFERIOR RACE OF BEINGS TO THE WHITES, AND ARE THEREFORE MADE FOR SERVITUDE TO THE WHITES."

THIS objector, I should think, must have adopted the creed, "*that all is fair in politics*," or, in other language, that "*might is right*;" or (without allusion to any man's party politics but for the sake of illustration merely,) that "*the spoils of the vanquished belong to the victor*," and "**THAT THE END ALWAYS JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.**" Here we see "expediency" with a vengeance."

Now, all these anti-christian, anti-republican, and despotic sentiments, I hesitate not to say, should at once and forever be utterly discarded by every philanthropist, every Christian, and by every friend to mankind and lover of equal rights, as altogether unworthy of him. They should not be permitted to hold even a momentary lodgement in his mind, lest they soon transform the pure republican, or the nominal professor of Christianity, into the **ABSOLUTE DESPOT**. The direct tendency of the prevalence of such sentiments, is to aristocracy and despotism, and to base degeneracy throughout the whole body politic. When such sentiments prevail, "*corruption necessarily becomes the order of the day.*" I have made these remarks only as being proper and called

for, in reply to the objection in question, entirely independent of all personalities. But I make them too as being too generally applicable to all *exclusive partisans in mere party politics*.

But to return to the point under consideration.

That the coloured people are by nature inferior to the uncoloured, wants proof. I once heard a "gentleman," who seemed to have the "bump of self-esteem" somewhat more prominently developed than the "*bump*" of reverence, conscientiousness, benevolence, or intellect, with an air of great wisdom proving this, (or rather disproving it,) by gravely remarking to another, that the "*nigger's*" head had been weighed in "the balance" of "*phrenology*," and found wanting, and therefore, he said, he should not be free. I thought I discovered, from the "gentleman's" own mathematical rules of "gauging mind," that he must himself also have been rather deficient, and the thought was involuntary, that "those who live in glasshouses had better not throw stones." But this "political phrenologist," who would bound a man's liberties by the peculiar configuration of his head, I think must himself have lacked either some of the phrenological implements, or the skill to use them. For I recollect to have seen one of this profession, who, by compressing the "intellectual powers" awhile, turned them all into the "*animal organs*," and then, by an inverse process, after a while remodelled the same "*animal*" into a prodigy of intellect!

It is not my province, however, in this place, neither is it at all to my purpose, to canvass the particular claims and utility of phrenology. To say no more, in looking over the publications on the subject, there cer-

tainly appears to be many things which at least look plausible, especially if one side only be considered. The doctrine, also, has some ingenious and skilful advocates. But suffice it to say on this point, that even supposing phrenology to be well-founded, and true in all its length and breadth, and that our long and heavy oppressions upon the down-trodden coloured people have indeed *pressed* their "intellectual powers" into the "animal organs," (as this phrenologist declares,) it would still be one of the most conclusive arguments conceivable, that we ought at once to let off our vile and heavy hand of oppression upon our brother, which has thus profanely plucked him down from the dignified and elevated rank of a noble and an intellectual MAN, then thrust him under our feet, and trampled his very head (as this phrenologist *would* have it) into that of a mere "brute."

I say, if all this indeed be so, it is certainly, of all other reasons, the most powerful and conclusive one imaginable, why the hard-hearted oppressor should at once cease his grievous oppressions, that that so much degraded head should again be "righted up" into the noble and "God-like intellectual" image in which its Maker formed it.

It is surely admitted, that long and heavy oppressions will give both the mind and the body a gloomy, down-cast, and degraded appearance. But if this be so even *externally*, how must that IMMORTAL SOUL, which no mortal eye can perceive, be *morally* degraded, and all its vast powers wantonly crushed and prostrated. So much for the objection to some men being freemen on account of the shape of their heads!!!

This objection to free discussion and to all men being freemen, (if you will allow the simplicity of the comparison,) I should think (as the little child said) is about as large as a "*piece of chalk*." Indeed, were we to extend and carry out all these ridiculous, not to say criminal, caprices and prejudices against individuals, we ought at once, were it practicable, to lay out this little globe into very small spots of earth upon which to COLONIZE every person in the whole world apart from all others, in accordance with the real or supposed laws of phrenology, physiology, physiognomy, &c. &c.

To imagine the plan complete, we might fancy to ourselves a little island for every individual on the globe; for every human being is, to a great extent, more or less, the creature of habit, taste, prejudice, and circumstance. For instance, some fancy one sort of person, and some another. Some fancy large, some small, and some a medium stature. Some fancy black, some gray, and some blue eyes. Some fancy black, some brown, some light, and some red hair. Indeed, nothing is more common than to find persons in the same, and in every community, with as many and diversified tastes in all these and nameless other particulars, as there are features and complexions among the people. This we all believe to be a wise and beneficent arrangement in creation.

But one thing is very happy for us all in a free country, (which is a kind of saving clause,) that none need ever to "amalgamate" any of these diversity of tastes, except from their own voluntary choice. And we all, as freemen, would at once say, that almost any lawful *voluntary choice* would be likely to conduce more to

our happiness than even the most "*modified*" state of involuntary slavery. To this, doubtless, every heart responds.

But one fact alone ought to settle the question, whether *coloured* people originally, under like circumstances, were not fully equal to *uncoloured*; and forever to put to silence those *uncoloured* people who are always vaunting themselves in their own conceits of intellectual superiority over *coloured* people. Authentic history clearly traces the origin of this long outraged and oppressed people back, and finds them to be the ancient Egyptians, who were then the most learned and accomplished people on the globe. What historian does not know that Egypt and Ethiopia were the instructors of Greece and Rome? Our very "*narrowly contracted*" prejudices, by which we are so prone to gauge their intellect, arising from our various associations with their long-degraded state in slavery, and also that mental indolence and dormancy which are the necessary attendants of a state of abject slavery, are surely not only *incorrect*, but very *unfair or disingenuous* *criteria* by which to judge. There are no inducements in a state of slavery, even if the means were not tyrannically denied, to unfold, and to bring into requisition the vast powers of the IMMORTAL MIND of beings "created but a little lower than the angels." This desire of invidious distinctions has its legitimate and full force among people of all colours; all circumstances being equal.

We are all too prone to measure the intellect and the wisdom of uncoloured as well as coloured people from their *exalted* or their *obscure* station in society. Behold that poor man in community, for example, whose wis-

dom or intellect no one, perhaps, ever thought of eulogizing. Let him, by "fortune's freak," be suddenly exalted to great wealth, and throw around him a splendour, and a diffusion of his bounty, that should far eclipse his neighbours,—all, at once, are lavish in his praise, and ready to bow down, and to do the same abject reverence, that but yesterday was passed by, either with contempt or entirely unnoticed. And also, when the *great and the mighty ones of earth* FALL, we hear the expression by way of scorn and triumph, "*I thought it would be so!*" These things, in large communities, where changes in men's circumstances are frequent, are matters of every-day occurrence, and therefore excite little attention or surprise. But they show poor "debased, morally darkened, and weak" human nature; and upon what principle we are all prone to judge of the wisdom of men.

Men are naturally aristocrats, and love to court the favour of the strong and the powerful. I think the influence of this important principle of action in human nature should be clearly understood, and I would be glad if I could, to bring it out fully to view. Who, that has mingled to much extent with the various, real, or fancied gradations in human society, could scarcely have failed to observe, that the same "accursed" spirit of *caste*, arising from a desire of invidious distinctions among our "*fellow-worms*," "*called free and white*," only in a less degree, (owing to a variety of modifying circumstances,) to that which so universally prevails against our enslaved and coloured fellow-countrymen? Who does not see this, to the shame of communities called Christian? White domestics of superior moral,

and sometimes too of intellectual worth, are often treated by families with the same manner of marked inferiority as blacks are treated.

Says Mrs. Scornful, *I* will never have a maid-servant in *MY* house, who should dare presume to intimate to *ME*, that she even wished to eat with *ME* at *MY* table, on any occasion—to dress as well as *I* do at any time, or to walk with *ME*, or sit with *ME* in church. Still, the same Mrs. Scornful says, she will treat her “maid-servants” well, if they will keep in their “proper places.” There was no prejudice in this case in the mind of Mrs. Scornful against the dark coloured skin of her poor maid-servant, for it was much lighter than her own. Neither could there have been any just plea of inferiority on the score of moral or intellectual worth, for in both of these also, the girl was known to be much superior to Mrs. Scornful herself. The ill effect of such a course of treatment of this highly important and valuable class of people, is at once made obvious, by contrasting the habits of the farming population of a country with that of its towns and cities. Among the latter, where domestics, regardless of colour, are studiously kept at a great social distance from their employers, it is almost universally proverbial, that they are *untrust worthy*; but, among the former, where hired domestics are generally treated as members of the family in which they reside, such a complaint is seldom heard of. “*He that delicately ^{and}eth up his servant from a child, shall have him betwixt his son at the length.*”—Prov. xxix. 21. But aye! murmurs the “DARK PROUD DEMON OF CASTE,” this is what I fear.

Now, this state of things, even carried to the aristocratic and unwarrantable extent which this case presents,

as bad and as wicked as it is, and repugnant as it is, both to republicanism and to the spirit of pure and undefiled Christianity, bears no comparison whatever to southern slavery; where the most tender ties are continually severed, and the nearest and dearest friends and relatives on earth are constantly torn asunder, and sold under the "hammer of the auctioneer," as goods, wares, and merchandise.

All who are not absolute slaves, *can*, and often *do* demand their wages when not well treated, and at once change their residences. But not so with the poor bound slave for life. *He* cannot demand *his* wages, *his* wife, or *his* children, or change *his* residence; for should he even intimate that he desired to do so, he would probably, in most cases, receive a severe castigation for it. It is true, the residences of slaves are often changed, but upon a very different principle than that upon which the residences of freemen are changed, which is to pursue their own happiness in their own way.

A very *bad* master, by way of *punishment and malignant revenge*, often sells the poor creatures to much worse and more cruel ones. Now, while I would hold to, and strictly inculcate all fidelity of service to one another in every condition of life, I have alluded to this treatment of white domestic which, when carried to this extent, I regard as *worse* anti-christian, and anti-republican; but I have named these too prevalent practices, not so much, however, to reprove them in this place, which would be travelling somewhat out of my latitude in such a work as this, as to prove by these things that people who think they are prejudiced against

a dark coloured skin, as a colour merely, are altogether mistaken. The association, from their very infancy of such horrible ideas has deceived them. It is against condition, or degradation, or poverty, that the prejudice lies, and not against the colour of the skin, only in the same sense, that it might be under other circumstances against the colour of the apparel. We merely regard the colour of the skin as a "mark" with which we associate in the mind the idea of degradation — against which degradation we are prejudiced, or to which we are opposed. Who does not know, that when he becomes prejudiced for any cause, either in favour or against any body of people, that he is also very prone to view every one belonging to that body through this medium?

Suppose, for instance, that two nations, one of blue coats, and the other of red coats, become highly incensed against each other, will not this singular prejudice mutually attach itself accordingly? But who pretends to say it is against the particular colours of their coats, as colours merely? This subject will yet be viewed in a far different light from that in which it is now seen, owing to our present haughty, prejudiced, or beclouded vision. I have found that it seems to make very little difference what particular marks we may in our caprice regard as marks of degradation, whether it be the colour of the skin, the colour or the texture of the apparel, or the particular style of equipage.

It is quite enough for our purpose just to conjure up in our fanciful imaginations some particular marks to be marks or signs of inferiority or degradation, and all happening to have such marks upon them, or about them,

we are very prone to decline equal associations with, lest perchance it might derogate from our fancied superior dignity and importance in the world's estimation. We are naturally almost as ready to avoid such, as we would be persons with some infectious disease. We can however associate with them very freely as Jack, or Jim, or Joe ; or Peggy, or Betty, or Molly, as with *pet* domestic animals ; but not as Mr., or Mrs., or Miss. Now I regard all prefixed titles as altogether *unimportant in themselves* ; but when we use them in some cases as a mark of intended *respect*, and omit them in others as a mark of *disrespect*, we see in it as far as it goes the very spirit of slaveholding, for the direct object of the practice is, to make others feel inferior to ourselves.

When I came into this country, said an emigrant, I brought several hundred dollars in gold with me, and while it lasted, the *Yankees* very *politely* called me *Mr.* — but now it is gone, they call me “ old uncle Joe ! ” Indeed, who does not know that mere words of themselves are altogether arbitrary, and that the very sound of some which might ravish *our* ears by their peculiarly happy and delightful associations to *us*, might to *others*, being connected in *their* minds with an entirely different order and character of associations, be equally as abhorrent and revolting ; totally regardless of the term we select, whether it be that of republican, patriot, or even Christian ? The good mother for instance, who displayed so much ingenuity and tact in naming her dear children, that she could call over their names with fluency in the presence of company somewhat in the following manner, “ You Martha Washington, come here this moment, and mind Andrew Jackson and William

Shakspeare, while Arthur Wellington helps Napoleon Bonaparte, &c. would perhaps nearly as soon have buried one of them as to have named it *Benedict Arnold*, or *Jack*, or *Sambo*; yet what unprejudiced philosophical elocutionist can discover any more respectability, or hear any more music in the mere words Andrew Jackson, or Bonaparte, than in the words simply Arnold, Jack, or Sambo?

This same principle in human nature satisfactorily accounts for the anomaly that some people "ca'n't bear a *free coloured person about them*;" but after he is tyrannically reduced to a helpless menial slave under their feet, O then my boy (or slave) Tom, (a venerable man, 60 years old) is a very fine clever fellow, and I would not part with him for a thousand dollars. He is the best coachman, or the best house or field servant I ever owned, and will then often fawn about them as they would any other "*domestic animal*." Such deep, bland, and wicked hypocrisy is enough to sink a nation in ruin, and probably will sink this nation by the righteous judgements of Heaven, unless repented of and put away from us forever. The universal custom of slaveholders using the puerile term "boy," when addressing their male slaves from the child to the venerable gray-headed man, is very easily seen through. It is a kind of intermediate term between man and slave.

Slaveholders avoid the use of the term slave, because it is annoying to their own conscious guilt, that it is wrong for man to hold his fellow man as a slave. They also entirely avoid the use of the term man, as applicable to an article which they call their property, because it would be, as they well suppose, a dangerous admission

to the slave that he is indeed a man, and should enjoy all the equal and inalienable rights of man, of pursuing his own happiness in his own way, even like unto his assumed tyrannical and lordly master ; and that it would also offend those proud and haughty feelings of fancied superiority of the tyrant, which is engendered, fostered, and constantly kept up under this accursed system of usurpation and tyranny over our fellow man, in contradistinction to the servile degradation of the poor oppressed and down-trodden slave. The power and spirit of this same kind of "*tyranny of prejudice*" was most strikingly exemplified by an educated Turkish gentleman travelling through this country a short time since. He had travelled much, and observed much of men and things. Still the views he entertained both of the Turkish men and Turkish women, show at once to all unprejudiced persons on that subject, how strangely even the most cultivated and enlightened minds on *some* subjects, may still be governed in many things entirely by an ungrounded, false, capricious, and often very criminal and cruel prejudice. He held that the Turkish men were altogether superior to any other men on the earth ; while his most deliberate opinion was, that the Turkish women were decidedly the most *inferior*, by nature of their sex.

Who cannot see, that both of these opinions, though totally false and groundless, might still have been very naturally entertained by this Turk, from the fact, that he was taught to believe and to feel, that the Turkish men were born to be lords over their female slaves ; and also from the fact, that the Turkish females had always been seen by him in a sunken, degraded state ; without intelligence, and consequently, without influence. Did

this haughty Turk live among *us*, would not both the *men and the women* of our country, endeavour to teach him an entire new lesson on this subject, even as we all should endeavour to correct the haughty views of slaveholders, and pro-slavites, in regard to two and a half millions of our down-trodden and oppressed fellow-countrymen? Do we not, moreover, see this same bias, more or less perverting the judgements of all people, from various causes, throughout every department of human life? And does it not arise, and is it not disingenuously cherished, from that pride of life, and that love of invidious distinction, so prone to human nature, and to which men too often aspire, by altogether unwarrantable, cruel, and wicked means?

But, suppose the Africans actually to be an inferior race of people to ourselves, (*which, however, remains yet to be proved,*) would this give us a right to enslave them? Far from it! Surely the *strong* ought to bear with the *weak*! Upon that principle, Myron Holley, Esqr., has well remarked, that "every nation on earth, but one, might be rightfully enslaved." Slaveholders and their children, omit no opportunity, from the nursery up, to rob the slave children of their inborn rights, to humble them, break them down, and make them feel that they must not own the most trivial thing, much less themselves. This is slavery; and, reader, how would you like it? Does the kind and judicious parent, suffer his stronger children to enslave the weaker? By no means, — but enjoins upon them all, to protect each other's equal and inalienable rights, as given to them, not by an *earthly* parent, but by the *Great PARENT OF ALL*. Nay, more! a judicious parent will cheerfully grant his

aid, where most needed. We all know that this is a wholesome, just, and republican doctrine, not only for the treatment of families, but for the whole world of mankind; and we equally as well know, that the doctrine of absolute despots, or slaveholders, is, that of "*power and might, over weakness and right*;" a doctrine which, if suffered to prevail universally, would quickly enslave the whole human race; to the mere arbitrary will of some one earthly tyrant. Will freemen of our dear country, behold, in time, the bold and fearful strides of this doctrine, which slaveholding is making among us? This same principle of "expediency," in the sense in which it is practised, in relation to the slave, which is supreme and unmixed selfishness, on the part of a slaveholding nation, has always, and, probably, (as long as the world shall remain as it is,) always will be practised in the world, upon the same principle, and ultimately to the same extent, (providing no reform, or revolution shall ever take place,) with all dominant political parties, without regard to colour or name; for the ever-aspiring ambition, and the cupidity of man, know neither colour, bounds, nor circumstances. We see, too, this unhallowed power, in all unions of church and state, where all must bow down, and pay it tribute, and do it reverence! It is, therefore, both a Roman and a Christian virtue, to stand up against it, and by the power of truth, argument, and consistent action, in all proper ways, manfully resist all unwarrantable encroachments upon individual and equal rights, *irrespective of party, creed, sect, colour, or condition*. And, whoever will not do this, should he not be regarded with a jealous eye, as fitting and paving the way, so far as his positive or neg-

ative influence can do it, for himself and others to be enslaved? Has not this ever been known to be the result of unhallowed, individual, or party ambition for power, when not timely and suitably checked by counteracting influences? These charges are equally applicable to all parties in power ; of whatever name, in whatever age, or country.

The doctrine of equal rights, and the doctrine of CALHOUN and his associates ; of the right of capitalists to own, and to buy, and sell all the labouring class, resemble each other, just as light resembles darkness, or freedom, slavery.

SECTION XVI.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE IT IS A RELIGIOUS OR SECTARIAN MATTER."

THIS objection has been sometimes made. It is true, that the subject of slavery is one, which at once involves all the moral, as well as the civil rights of man, and therefore, must be considered just as it is ; both a moral and a political subject. When I say "political," however, let me not be misunderstood. The whole nation are under the highest possible moral obligation, to abolish their slavery, politically, just so far as they can do so constitutionally. I do not mean politically, on mere party grounds, but in the same sense, that the American revolution might have been considered a political movement, in behalf of all the rights of man.

But whoever thought of opposing the cause of the American revolution, because Washington, the venerated father of our country, considered it a sacred cause, and was often found in prayer, commending it to HIM who holds the destinies of individuals, and of nations, in his hands ?

Had men acted thus in those trying times, where now would have been our liberties ? The cause of emancipation, is emphatically the cause of human rights, in every possible sense ; for the enslaved are deprived not only of all the rights common to man, but the "*great centre right*" of all rights, the right to themselves. Even that

last right of mortals of humble supplication to God, to his "*brother man*," to take off his galling chains soothe his wounds, and restore to him his stolen wife and children, is peremptorily denied him by his master and by this nation, and he is now doomed to endure his woes in solitude, in the great prison house of slavery as was decided by the "*slaveholders*" vote in the *American Congress* of 1837, that the poor slave had no right of petition for any relief in any possible case whatever. And, as if to doom the poor slave to eternal bondage the servants of "the sovereign people" have just said that the PEOPLE shall not petition for him. All this, indeed, only goes to show how exceedingly low in degradation and ruin we have sunk this wretched people. They are trodden quite beneath the sympathies of the nation, unmanned and brutalized. "Even the dog," said the Hon. John Quincy Adams, "can implore his master, but the slave must not." This was a time when an American ex-president, on the floor of Congress, literally wept over the great wrongs and oppressions of the nation. Who cannot see that "coming events cast their shadows before them?" I mean by this, that the bond and the free are most assuredly inseparably bound together in one destiny in this nation. Whether that destiny be slavery for all, or freedom for all, the future alone must disclose. Wherein consists the difference in this nation, this moment, between the men called slaves, and the men called free, in regard to that great first right of all people, of humbly entreating their "rulers," by way of prayer, or petition, to remove evils, or in the least degree to mitigate their grievances?

Why, the men called slaves, must not even write a

prayer to their rulers for any relief from oppression whatever. The men called free, *may* write a prayer, carry it silently in their pocket, even within the walls of the CAPITOL, and are then most graciously permitted, in the amazing condescension of their *rulers*, respectfully to lay their prayer on a certain table which the "gentlemen," whom the people permit to occupy that house, have provided, principally for the depository of useless papers, considered not worth their time to read. Now, to discriminate between the difference in this treatment to people called slaves, and that to people called free, I should think it would need some improved instrument of far greater magnifying powers than the one lately said to have been invented, and to have made such wonderful discoveries in the moon. As to the cause of emancipation being sectarian, it cannot be so ; for persons of all denominations, and many of no denomination, are most cordially and mutually engaged in it, as one common cause, for all the friends and advocates of freedom and philanthropy in the land. And if *religious* people feel disposed to make it more a subject of moral than of political rights, what objection can any one reasonably have ? It is, moreover, a sacred religious duty, whenever we do act politically to do so for the best good of mankind. We should most certainly think, that religious people, especially those who are in favour of missionary efforts, to convert the heathen to Christ, of all others, (to be at all consistent with themselves,) ought to be the greatest abolitionists in the world, when we know that many of the better informed and more shrewd heathen, are constantly retorting upon our missionaries, with this most painful and cutting rebuke to every Ame-

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rican believer, in the benevolent and divine character of our blessed Saviour. "If we enlist under your Christ," says the heathen, to American professed Christian missionaries, "we are afraid he will make us all slaves."

What American minister of Christ, knowing what American slavery is, and will not testify loudly against it, must not stand justly convicted, of at least a negative influence, of greatly retarding the universal spread of the Gospel?

That great and noble philanthropist, George Thompson, Esq. of England, whose name, in all future time, will be justly enrolled among the most distinguished champions of human rights the world affords, has said that he considered himself acting for the world at large; and that he regarded American slavery as one of the greatest barriers on the earth to the universal diffusion of free principles and the gospel of Christ. And indeed, what impartial eye that takes in the globe, must not so regard it? For while as a nation of politicians, we have long been loudly and ostentatiously boasting that we were the freest people on earth, two and a half millions of our innocent fellow-countrymen, or one sixth part of our entire population, have been loaded down with chains, forged with our own hands!! And while as a nation of *professed Christians*, we have nominally been thanking our God that we were not as other nations; that we were exalted unto Heaven with religious blessings; that we were not bowing down to stocks and to stones, gods made with our own hands; but that our religion was the true religion, was the purest and the most holy of all religions; yes, while we have claimed in the view of Heaven and earth this most distinguished

pre-eminence, in the mean time we have virtually been inviting the nations to gaze, as they have done, upon the *broad and dark suspicious mark* upon our religion, until they are now ready to say to us,—notwithstanding your long and loud professions, “*what do ye more than others?*” “First take the beam from thine own eye, that ye may see the more clearly, to take the mote from thy brother’s eye.”

In view of facts and of the opinions of all the civilized world, respecting American slavery, which I have been able to gather, were I to attempt to name the particular ratio, which American influence, moral and political, is lessened in the world, in consequence of our being to so great an extent a slaveholding nation, I should put it at least 75 per cent.

If we are shocked when we hear that an actual heathen and barbarous people abroad, sometimes kill and eat our missionaries sent to them, would not even such barbarians be still more shocked to hear that the people in the country whence these missionaries came, when their slaves try to break their chains and obtain their liberty, sometimes consume them alive by a slow fire; and that they often actually make deliberate pecuniary calculations, that it is more profitable to work their slaves to death in “seven years,” (“when sugar, cotton, and rice, bear a good price, and they have heavy contracts to fulfill,”) than to treat them any more lenient that they might endure a longer time; and that many of the American born men and women, to get beyond the reach of this American republicanism and American christianity, have put an end to their own existence; and many others have adroitly secreted themselves for years

in caves and dens in the day-time, and worked nights for something to eat, for some who would thus befriend them. And is it much to be wondered at, if the foreign "heathen," do indeed call us "Christian dogs?" Now, will not all who are looking forward, and desiring that the whole world should soon be governed by none but a happy Christian influence, greatly deplore the existence of all such hindrances, and readily and most cheerfully contribute whatever of moral influence they possess to remove them?

While American slavery has ever been a most base and cruel libel upon the Christian religion, and while its professed friends have practically been inducing the world to believe the libel true, and while we have been labouring and praying to convert the heathen to our religion, we have *virtually* been challenging their scorn and contempt of it. And have we not great cause to fear that for all this, our hypocrisy, we shall yet be rewarded, not according to our *words* or our formal prayers, but according to our works? Would it not be well for us as a nation, timely to remember, that God is not mocked with impunity? Even some southern slaveholding politicians themselves, who make no pretensions to religion, most powerfully rebuke professed Christians, who either assume the attitude of opposition, or even neutrality on this subject of responsibilities so immense. Mr. Rives, in the senate of the United States, in his remarks on anti-slavery petitions to congress, admitted slavery to be a moral and a political evil. Mr. Calhoun, in his reply, told Mr. Rives, if he so regarded it, he was bound as a good man, to do every thing in his power to procure its abolishment. So

think abolitionists. But Mr. Calhoun has made greater progress in the science of human freedom than Mr. Rives; for he says he has recently discovered, that slavery is the best kind of freedom. But Mr. Calhoun, after all, probably means only that it suits the interest and gratifies the tyrannical feelings of the *few*, more to enslave the *many*.

And again, there are those who discuss the subject of slavery, on the ground of civil rights only. And surely, it would ill-become religious people to oppose this class of anti-slavery men, as all other rights are secured to us by our proper civil rights. There are champions of civil liberty merely, who are deserving high praise. I heard one individual say, it certainly must be sectarian, because all presbyterians, as he said, were abolitionists. For the honour and the purity of that body, in my heart I wish this were so. But so far from it, it is the lamentable fact, that the advocates and apologists for slavery, in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1837, applied the keen but cruel excision knife indiscriminately, to all the northern "rotten branches" of this "*strange vine*," that they supposed to be in the least infected with the fanatical doctrine, that all men ought to enjoy the inalienable rights with which their benevolent Creator first blessed them, under the very plausible pretext of new measures — heterodoxy of sentiments, and of its being a sacred duty, as good presbyterians, to abrogate all plans of union, recognised by common consent, "time immemorial."

American slavery was the dark and moving cause that produced this *exparte* trial — this unconstitutional ecclesiastical Guillotine. And whether this body is long

to be governed by the slaveholding spirit of darkness, or the benign spirit of Christ, time and other General Assemblies will determine.

I can call the act of the Assembly of 1837, by no softer name than the one here ascribed to it. Every such despotic act in church or in state, tends only to open the eyes of the people, to the very nature and demands of despotism, upon whatever hypocritical or plausible pretense they may be predicated. Men, who are sometimes ashamed to avow their real motives of action, are adepts at assuming very plausible apparent ones. Disguise this act as it may be, it is slavery still; and was nothing but the same southern and northern dark pro-slavery spirit which produced it, that expelled the poor coloured man and his family from their church, for daring to purchase a pew in the house of God, in order to occupy it to hear the gospel preached.

And is it not to be feared, that there may be some pro-slavery men in the excinded "*rotten branches*," who will yet make an effort to re-unite, to perpetuate slavery in that body, and in our country? But let us forbear to complain too much; for if we take the side of the oppressed, we must "*remember them who are in bonds, as bound with them*," and place our souls in their souls' stead, and expect to suffer with them, and to be oppressed also.

One Rev. brother said, he did not believe in getting up these "irresponsible societies" for the discussion of slavery, or for any thing else. His meaning was, I suppose, that every society should be strictly amenable to some ECCLESIASTICAL body.

Do not *political parties*, on the same ground, often

oppose free discussion and societies, as if the *people* were accountable to *them* also? Now while I would ever preserve a due regard for "pure and undefiled religion," and for a holy and consistent ministry, I still believe it to be our duty to our fellow-men, and to our country, as well as to the church, to say that this jealousy of the nominal church of "irresponsible" societies, (as some ecclesiastical bodies have been pleased to denominate them,) has been most in exercise according to her past history, while in her most worldly, ambitious, and corrupt state.

Innocence and purity have generally been "unsuspecting." Is it not to be feared, that there is more "*unholy*" than *holy* jealousy in all this? This good brother also said, he believed in preaching the gospel, to be a remedy for all moral evils. So do *all* believers in the gospel.

And if men, called *ministers* of this gospel, *will* not fully preach it, "but keep back part of the price" to please *men*; men called *laymen* must do it, or wo is unto them. Slaveholders too, while whipping, robbing, and selling their fellow-men like cattle, profanely hold up the sacred volume, and impiously say, "here is my warrant for such conduct."

What a pity that the gospel was not preached in this country long before temperance societies were thought of; when intemperance was sweeping its thousands of the world, of the nominal church, and even some professed ministers of this gospel, into an untimely grave!! What a pity too, that the gospel for more than half a century before these "modern abolitionists" were known as such, could not have been preached at the

south, while millions of wretched beings have been groaning under their heavy chains of "Christian love, and pure benevolence" in midnight moral darkness, and physical degradation, lingering out a wretched existence, and dying without hope, in a far-famed, nominally Christian land, and without even an offer of Christ and salvation.

But we suppose in both of these cases, the gospel may have been *literally* preached, or as some people oppose slavery, in the "*abstract*," but by no means has it been preached as Nathan preached to David — "Thou art the man."

It has been preached in a way to suit the oppressor, but not the God of the oppressed.

I always supposed that *political parties* and *ecclesiastical bodies*, had their own peculiar reasons for opposing what they were pleased to denominate "*irresponsible societies*." But the "dear people" will sometimes be refractory, and dare to act like rational freemen. And further, (for plainness, with kindness of speech, becomes either professed Christians, or professed republicans,) just so far as my observation has extended on this point, those Ministers and Christians, who oppose abolition societies, on the ground that it is the peculiar prerogative of the church, and the church only, to do away all moral evils; while this doctrine looks well in theory, and while I do not feel disposed to contest it here, (provided, however, that it be understood that it is certain, that every branch of the nominal church, be a living branch of the living vine,) still it is somewhat marvellous to behold, that these are the very same persons, who, while they freely admit slavery to be "a

great sin, and a great evil," in the mean time are disobeying God, by not opening their mouths for the oppressed and the dumb, either in the church, or out of it, but are constantly opposing the true and consistent friends of the slave.

I once had the pleasure of hearing a discourse from Mark xii. 17. "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." However foreign the text, to any such purpose, the object of the speaker was to prove the unlawfulness, or impropriety of members of churches, being members of the "voluntary" associations of the day, however good their motives, or their objects. He was understood to mean, those associations only, which have for their object, the abolition of intemperance, the abolition of licentiousness, and the abolition of slavery, for I had always supposed that in this "free country," all who become members of Christian churches even, do so voluntarily.

And so long as we are blessed with the full enjoyment of our inalienable, civil, as well as religious, rights of conscience, it must always remain so. The admission was fairly and honourably made by the speaker, that as it regarded *other* "voluntary" associations of the day, he had no particular objection to them, because he believed *their* objects were good, and their *tendency*, to promote the gospel. He named the Tract, Sabbath School, and Bible Society.

In what light, thought I, can this capricious partiality be regarded, but that of indirectly impugning the motives of all the members of the three excepted "voluntary" associations, out of the many in the world?

When the Bible Society was named, it reminded me of the course which the different denominations of Christians respectively have deemed it proper to adopt at different past periods to circulate the volume of divine inspiration, which, if done in the spirit of the gospel, I do not consider to be at all *inconsistent* with the speaker's most admirable late PREMIUM WORK on "RELIGIOUS DISSENSIONS;" for any toleration short of this freedom would be an *abridgement* of the inalienable liberties of conscience, the FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE of all free governments. I believe this is the doctrine and only this, which all true Americans have ever delighted to honour, and admitted to be in accordance with the primary principles and spirit of their free and republican institutions. The various denominations of Christians have a right to act in concert in the American Bible Society, and they have an equal right to act separately or as churches—in precisely the same sense, and in no other that I can possibly conceive, that the friends of the oppressed and of rational freedom have a right to act.

In his making this, as I thought rather invidious distinction among "voluntary associations," as all the societies in the world, not excepting nominal churches, as they are not compelled (as the poor slave is to his task) thus to associate, must of course be "*voluntary*;" a query arose in my mind, that if it be consistent for us to assume the high and sacred office of the arbiter of motives and of conscience over *one* class of men, why not over all? and whether it be a justifiable partiality, at once to conclude, that because A may have assumed a better sounding name to our fastidious ear than B, therefore his motives must be purer, and the tendency of his

conduct more salutary? Though the speaker appeared to be a man of an "excellent spirit," and of fair talents, yet he seemed, I thought, in this matter, to be much bewildered, and evidently betrayed fearful apprehensions, either that he could not reach his subject, or that his premises after all might prove treacherous. Indeed he more than once frankly admitted the attempt to be, both a "difficult and a hazardous" one. On this point, could the truth have been known, I have little doubt most of the respectable audience symyathized with the speaker, and cordially agreed with him. I endeavoured to listen to all the discourse, with candour, attention, and impartiality, but was still entirely unable to reconcile either the premises with the superstructure, or the incongruities of various parts of the superstructure *itself* with one another; or, in other language, a number of his conclusions appeared to me to be altogether unnatural and forced deductions. In the first place the speaker professed a great desire for the entire accomplishment of the great and glorious objects "which he verily believed these voluntary associations" honestly had in view, and would go as far "*in his way*" to bring about these great, and greatly desirable ends, as any other man. I presume before the close of his "hazardous undertaking" the audience was willing to concede this, for his discourse was considerably interlarded with brilliant flights of eloquence of solemn asseverations to this effect. He very freely admitted that these "voluntary" associations had already accomplished much good, and might still more; in creating a correct public sentiment in regard to the great evils they proposed to banish from the land by the weight of enlightened public opinion.

But as the opposers of temperance sometimes used to say, "it will do no good if you do prevail upon drinking men to lay aside their cups, for they will only take to some other bad habits in the room of their drinking; the speaker in the next sentence defeated all the good results he had so much encouraged us to hope was about to be effected in the world from these several "voluntary" associations, by asserting that on the whole, finally, he had never known any good accomplished by "voluntary associations."

To use the speaker's own language, "they had merely effected a *modification* of the evils, but not a *diminution*;" — that when these "voluntary" associations became "strong and popular," they degenerated into something as bad, or even worse than the evils they proposed to abolish. He then undertook to prove that the *nominal* church was the only engine of sufficient power to abolish, and completely exterminate all the evils of earth, and bring on the glorious millennial morn. But before he had done dealing with the church, I really felt as though he was more severe upon her if possible, than he was upon "voluntary" associations themselves; for he repeatedly said, that great numbers were constantly flocking into the church, "from fashion," or from the force of public opinion. He also quoted different periods of the church when she had become popular, and kings and princes had become her patrons; and hordes of unconverted Pagans rallied around her standard, and she 'at once became the great fountain of moral and political corruption in herself and to the whole world. Here I could not avoid feeling somewhat pained that the speaker, as I suppose, inadvertently

omitted to draw a line of demarkation between the nominal and the invisible church ; for an unbeliever in the invisible church, I thought by this time might well begin to despair of salvation from any quarter. And here too, while I was made by the eloquence of the speaker to behold to the life, these immense hordes of unconverted barbarians, rallying around the standard of the cross, and thus corrupting the church, and the whole world, I could but inquire of myself how many hundred poor slaves, with their handcuffs, clanking chains, and drivers, each unconverted barbarian, probably brought along with him to pollute the sacred altar!! And if none at all, how much more corrupt must the southern church be (which some pro-slavery branches at the north still "hug so closely") than was the Roman church. This to me at the time actually appeared to be a matter which almost admitted of mathematical demonstration. One broad admission of the speaker proved I think a good deal more, than he was fully aware of. He had been saying that he did himself belong to some of these "voluntary" associations ; that he had given addresses, and laboured much to promote them ; and that on the whole they had accomplished a vast amount of good in the world, and his reason for going against them "all at once" was, that they had now begun to throw the church itself into the back ground ; and there was danger therefore that soon church members would have to go up to some of "the great conventions" of these "voluntary" associations to find out what to do. Now if all this proves any thing at all, what *does* it prove? Suppose an unprejudiced and purely benevolent spirit were to descend from on high, knowing not the names of the various associa-

tions of earth, either "voluntary" or "involuntary," what spot, than where the *most good was doing*, would the angelic messenger hover around with more complacency and delight. Though a layman, I have compared ecclesiastical history with the "law and the testimony" with some care, and have yet to learn, that the mere nominal church, has not in past periods, and may not again and again, become so corrupt that it will be scattered to the four winds with a blight from heaven, and elements of purity be preserved out of its nominal ruins.

Has not this often been done, in spite of all the powers of earth and hell, to control the nominal church, by giving the ark of the Lord an unhallowed touch? Hence the solemn question comes up, in the nineteenth century of the christian era, "Which has most cause for alarm? 'voluntary' associations, or a 'voluntary' nominal slaveholding church, 'with all her handcuffs, chains, lashes, task-masters, soul drivers, soul sellers, soul buyers, and nameless other things of abomination, which are this moment going up to Heaven, that a righteous God would speedily avenge himself of such a people as this?'" Nay, more; I have yet to know, that the nominal American church, with all her much abused and desecrated ordinances, may not, with great self-complacency, be thanking God, that she is not as these vile "voluntary" associations are; and that the poor publican, from the God of love, and the God of the oppressed, may not still receive the blessing, and go away justified, rather than the "Pharisee;" and that the poor Samaritan, whoever and wherever he may be, rather than the "Priest and the Levite," that pass by on the other side, may not, by

one who knoweth the heart, be seen to be neighbour to the wounded and the dumb, *who have fallen among thieves*. And, at the same time, it certainly must be, that every true lover of Zion greatly desires that she may speedily arise, — put far away all her grievous abominations, — having on her beautiful garments of praise and salvation, — her light being come, and the glory of the Lord arisen upon her, “as a lamp that burneth, and her righteousness going forth as brightness, when she would be as a city set on a hill, whose light cannot be hid.”

Here it involuntarily occurred to me what the speaker said in an anti-slavery convention a few days previous, while he was opposing the passage of a certain resolution, implicating professed ministers of the gospel for “keeping back part of the price,” or withholding a part of the counsel of God, for not giving the cause of the oppressed a suitable place in their ministrations at the sacred altar. The speaker stated, on that occasion, that God knew that he felt that what had been said in that convention, of the deplorable condition of the poor slave, was even more than true ; and superadded, “that the whole system (slavery) was abominable, from the foundation to the top-stone.” That he had himself witnessed in the streets of southern cities, scenes which ought to excite the deepest sympathy in every heart. “I have literally seen,” said the speaker, “a cross erected before the Court-House in Vicksburgh, so constructed as to fasten one slave on each side of it, to receive the inflictions of the bloody lash.”

He also added, “that he had seen in the streets of New-Orleans, females, with shovels in their hands,

cleaning the streets, with iron collars about their necks." But still the speaker opposes abolitionists, principally because they have published to the world forty volumes (as he says) of the like, and still more horrible facts!!!

Now, while the speaker opposes abolition societies on the ground, principally, as he says, that the nominal church is the only authorized body to publish such dreadful oppressions to the world, a query arose in my mind, whether the speaker himself had probably already published, with deep sympathy of soul, from the sacred desk, to his church, as many such distressing facts, in relation to the oppressions of his *own* suffering countrymen, as the abolitionists have done; and, also, whether he had called upon his people, in good earnest, at once to arise, as one man, and clear their skirts, by testifying loudly (as against all sins) against this sin of sins, and abomination of abominations, in our land. ?

If, while he professes to know much of the evils of slavery, and to regard slavery as the great sin and curse of our country,—and has been finding much fault with the proceedings of abolitionists,—he has not faithfully discharged this high and solemn duty to God and to man; but has actually, all the time, been practically in the company of the priest and the Levite, barely looking on and passing by on the other side: I will not arraign the speaker before any human tribunal, but leave him with HIM who asked concerning a wounded man left half dead at a certain time, "Which now of these three thinkest thou was neighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?" I never could have taken up my humble pen in defence of this cause, had I not regarded it as emphatically the cause of God and man; and the whoever exalteth himself against God shall surely com

to nought : fully believing that the chariot wheels of salvation will roll over every seeming obstruction, and still roll on, until he whose right it is to rule shall indeed reign king of nations, as he now reigns king of saints.

While the speaker was opposing these "voluntary" associations, on the ground that they effected a mere "modification" of the evils, and not a "diminution," he also said, "if the 'anti-slavery folks' would just christen their 'voluntary association' by the name 'Political,' he would then join the 'Abolition' Society." I was sorry to hear this, for it was at once an admission that he would consent to employ himself about the mere "modification" of evils, instead of their "diminution;" and that he, being clothed with the "sacred office," should prefer political action, or "mere public opinion," to moral influence, to accomplish what he had just admitted to be a great benevolent and philanthropic object.

While the speaker most unqualifiedly declared, again and again, his deep abhorrence, and utter detestation of slavery in all its forms and abominations, and his great desire to have all done to do it away that could be done, he nevertheless objected most strenuously to the anti-slavery "voluntary" association, on the ground that the anti-slavery folks, he said, had taken the liberty to publish "*forty volumes*" of anti-slavery literature. He thought all that was necessary on the subject, might have been put into two or three well written volumes.

The idea, too, that anti-slavery conventions should presume to send out their opinions to the world in the form of resolutions, appeared to him horrible! Indeed, the speaker seemed to feel as though such things should hardly be tolerated in a free country, not seeming to

consider that our good fathers fled from a land of oppression to this more favoured clime of civil and religious toleration ; and that all ecclesiastical bodies in this country ever since, (his own, of course, included,) have published, not two or three "well written volumes" *only*, to promulgate their favourite doctrines, but just as many, either well written or ill written ones, as they pleased ; and also, that they have sent forth to the world, "time immemorial," resolutions almost unnumbered.

It is very true, that among so great a multitude of resolutions, which ecclesiastical bodies, together with all other "voluntary" associations of men, either moral, political, mechanical, or scientific, in the healthful exercise of their happy constitutional freedom, have been pleased to publish to the world, some of them may have contained doctrines, like the good physician's "nostrums ;" "offensive to take, but sure to cure."

There is, however, a very happy and redeeming clause for us all, in regard to the exercise of this, our so highly prized constitutional freedom, which is, that we are no more constitutionally compelled to receive and to digest all the resolutions in the world, by the wholesale, unless the prescriptions are all appropriate to our case, than we are, whether sick or in health, eagerly to devour all the medicine, of which the apothecaries in the whole land, may give the public notice, will cure all diseases.

The part of wisdom, for us all in this matter, I conceive, is simply the part of honesty. And, as in the *latter* case, so in the *former*. First, to be rigid with ourselves, and find out what our moral malady (if any we have) may be, and then say, as did the sick man of courage, "Doctor, if this will cure me, I will take it if it kills me!"

The good speaker did not seem to realize that these same "voluntary associations," whose constitutional and inalienable rights he would proscribe, are made up of that same people, who, with a spirit of mutual kindness and forbearance, have always been granting to himself, and to all others, all those constitutional, civil, religious, and ecclesiastical rights, which it has ever been his and their high and blessed privilege to enjoy, without molestation. And now, will not all these same ecclesiastical bodies, whose constitutional and inalienable rights have been so long sacredly protected by God and by man, "in our happy land of freedom," none molesting, or making afraid, (except, of late, now and then, a pro-slavery mob,) cheerfully manifest, at all times, in return, the same constitutional, ingenuous, and catholic spirit, of universal toleration to others, as that with which they have themselves, been so long and so highly favoured? If not, with what name, but "intolerance or ingratitude itself, ought they to be branded? It is certainly true, that were the church and the ministry what they should be, like a lighted city set on an hill, or, like a great moral army, with banners, wielding the whole truth, (not a part,) in love; but with power against every sin, being blessed of Heaven, there would soon be no more handcuffs and chains for the innocent, no more intemperance, no more licentiousness, but the world would speedily be evangelized to Christ, and love to God supreme, and to man universal, would reign over the earth, and all captives would return to Mount Zion, with crowns, and with songs of everlasting rejoicing. But if the visible Zion, with dumb or slumbering watchmen upon her walls, rebellious to Heaven, will stand as

a mighty bulwark against liberty for the captive, and the salvation of a world, what shall the friends of Zion, and of her King do, but to enter into "voluntary" associations, and to weep in secret places, on account of her desolation and her slain. Hitherto, ("with ascriptions of due praise, be it spoken,") all measures, however apparently powerful in themselves, against the friends of the dumb, not permitted to speak for themselves, have been mercifully overruled, and made only to hasten on the joyous day of their peaceful deliverance. What believer in divine truth, but must regard this as a blessed indication of the favour of Heaven? The true church of Christ has more than once been preserved, by "voluntary" associations taking refuge in the caves and the dens of the earth, (cast down, but not forsaken) and that too, sometimes, from a "voluntary" ecclesiastical association claiming to be the only true church on earth. Unhallowed ecclesiastical intolerance and proscription, always strikes at the very foundation, not only of all civil but of all religious liberty in the world. This proscriptive course, which some ecclesiastical bodies are pursuing, towards what they are pleased, in their sovereign pleasure to denominate "voluntary" associations, in our highly favoured country of constitutional freedom and equal rights, is no "new thing under the sun." It is but a dark relic of Popery, issuing her Bulls and her fulminations, saying to her enslaved subjects, "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther."

Now, allowing the motives of this speaker to be none other than pure, and kind, (which I would not call in question,) in his thus opposing the publications of works containing opinions not exactly comporting with his

own peculiar views, still, the present enlightened part of mankind will stamp the *principle itself*, as far as it goes, as no less intolerant than that which is seen in the following account, which the protestant world shudders at, and shrinks from, with a kind of instinctive horror!! Similar accounts are often published in the books and the journals of the day, as they should be, as a perpetual memorial to man, of the dreadful effects of a SPIRIT OF INTOLERANCE.

Says the Legate of Pope Adrian VI. to the Directory of Nuremburgh, "The POPE and EMPEROR ought to be implicitly obeyed; THE HERETICS' books *burned*; and the printers and sellers of them *duly punished*. There is no other way to suppress and extinguish the pernicious sect of *PROTESTANTS*."

Says the decree of the Lateral Council, 1515, "that no book shall be printed without the bishop's license; that those who transgressed this decree shall forfeit the whole impression, which shall be publicly burned; pay a fine of 100 ducats, be suspended from his business for one year, and be excommunicated; that is, given over to the devil, soul and body, in God's name and the saints'!!"

The celebrated council of Trent, whose decrees are in full force to the present hour, having never been annulled or altered, decides as follows: "Being desirous of setting bounds to the printers, who, with unlimited boldness, *supposing themselves at liberty to do as they please*, print editions of the Holy Bible with notes and expressions taken indifferently from any writer without the permission of their ECCLESIASTICAL SUPERIORS, &c. Neither shall any one hereafter

sell such books, or even retain them in their possession, unless they have been first examined and approved by the ordinary, under penalty of anathema, and the *pecuniary fine* adjudged by the last council of Lateran."

As late as the year 1832, Pope Gregory XVI., in his circular letter, says, "To this tends that most *vile, detestable, and never to be sufficiently execrated* LIBERTY of Booksellers, viz. of publishing writings of whatever kind they please, a liberty which some persons DARE, with such a violence of language, to demand and promote!!" Clement XIII., our predecessor, of happy memory, in his circular on the suppression of noxious [Protestant] books, pronounces, 'We must contend with energy, such as the subject requires, and with all our might, to *exterminate the deadly mischief of so many books*, for the matters of error will never be effectually removed, unless the guilty elements of depravity be *consumed in the fire.*' The Apostolic See has, through all ages, ever striven to condemn suspected and noxious [Protestant] books, and to wrest them *forcibly* out of men's hands. It is most clear how rash, false, and injurious to our Apostolic See, and fruitful of enormous evils to the Christian [papal] public is the doctrine of those who not only reject *censorship* of books as too severe and burdensome, but even proceed to such lengths of wickedness as to assert that it is contrary to the principle of equal justice, and DARE to *deny to the church* the right of enacting and employing it."

The late Pope Pius VII., in his reply to the inquiries of the Polish bishops as to the course to be pursued by them in reference to the Protestant Bible Societies, says: "We have been truly shocked at this crafty de-

vice, by which the *very foundations of religion are undermined*. For it is evident that the Holy Scriptures, when circulated in the *vulgar tongue*, have, through the *temerity* of men, produced more harm than benefit. Continue, therefore, diligently to warn the people entrusted to your care, that they fall not into the snares which are prepared for their everlasting ruin;" or, in other words, that they receive not the Bible offered them by these societies.

"Comment," says a valuable journal, "is unnecessary. A word to the wise is sufficient for them. These POPES carried their intolerance almost as far, though in a much more open and manly way, than some slaveholding popes and their abettors, in the 19th century of the Christian era in Christian America; standing behind the scene, and issuing their anathemas and bulls, by way of senatorial, congressional, and ecclesiastical resolutions, instigating the populace to rifle mails and burn their contents, basely to mob and disperse lawful and peaceable assemblies of American citizens; and to destroy printing-presses and massacre their owners—burn \$40,000* buildings, erected for the accommodation of the people for freedom of discussion."

Now, if our inalienable rights of freedom of speech and liberty of the press are to be tyrannically wrested from us, it matters little whether the despotism that does it, be called a slaveholding, a political, or an *ecclesiastical* despotism, or all three combined; or whether the agents who execute the will of the despots be called officers or mobocrats. It would, in such an event, be quite suffi-

* The PENNSYLVANIA HALL, burnt by an anti-free discussion mob in the night of the 18th of May, 1838.

cient for us to know that these rights were gone, past hope of recovery ; and that we were *slaves*, with our handcuffs, our chains, and our task-masters for our comforters. Let the despotic doctrines of Calhoun and Patton, which have been so fearfully responded to, at the north, politically and ecclesiastically, in letter and in spirit, once be carried out, and these same men, with their northern abettors, would at once, in like manner, arrogantly assume the right to muzzle the press, and to suppress, by tyrannical laws, the publication and circulation of all journals of intelligence, and all books which should dare expose THEIR AMBITIOUS PURPOSES AND DESIGNS. Should the people simultaneously arise, and call upon the press, it *could*, if it *would*, speedily, forever put a quietus upon all MOBS in the land, with no heavier BALLS than TYPE, and with no more *pointed* BAYONETS, than TRUTH. There is something "*rotten in Denmark*" that the people must probe, or no longer dream of freedom.

Let us all beware, lest our zeal for the preservation of the *nominal* church merely, does not swiftly lead us into this kind of popish intolerance and proscription. It is true, mere "hollow-hearted sect or party" may for a brief season seem to prosper and triumph by such a spirit, which is from beneath, and not from above; but vital piety and true religion never can live and flourish under the iron rod of oppression; for where "the Spirit of the Lord is, there *must* be liberty." The precedent would be an imminently dangerous one, for any ecclesiastical body whatever to set up such a standard of intolerance; for who knows what ecclesiastical body will obtain the ascendancy of the public mind first, when it might claim to be the only true church,

and from this oppressive and unsafe principle of intolerance, the liberties, both civil and religious, of all others would, of course, at once be subverted?

But who must not see, that if, indeed, this mode of reasoning prove any thing to the speaker's favourite purpose, it proves altogether too *much* for his purpose; for he all along freely admitted, that what had been claimed as the only true church, had not only been liable, like "voluntary" associations, in all her stages, to become greatly corrupted; so much so, that instead of being the light of the world, and the source of all purity, she had often been the fountain of all pollution, her light darkness, and the blind the guide of the blind, being totally perverted, by the pride, the unhallowed ambition, and the cupidity of depraved man, from her original high and holy design, of breaking every yoke of sin, that every captive might go free; and to assuage, remedy, or sanctify the woes of fallen humanity.

I should certainly suppose that it would become members of the nominal church of Christ, with a knowledge of themselves, and a history of the world before them, in blazing characters, instead of manifesting so much alarm about "voluntary associations," to look well to it, to see whether they are *themselves* in the faith; whether they are members truly of the *invisible* church, whose head is ever on high. And if, indeed, they *may* perchance, *not be living* branches of the *living* vine, the exhortation, that while they *think* they *stand*, to take heed lest they *fall*, should not be deemed by them altogether miss.

My idea is, (and if wrong, I am desirous to be corrected,) that all "associations," whether voluntary or

involuntary, if of *man* only, will come to the ground, but if of *God*, will stand forever; and that, consequently, the the spiritual church of Christ is just as safe, since some of her members have eaten and drunk with "*publicans and sinners*" as she was before, and that, if voluntary associations, instead of publishing forty volumes *only*, of "*anti-slavery literature*," should publish *forty thousand volumes*, and as many resolutions as the world could contain, she would still be safe, and as unmoved as the "rock of ages," upon which she is founded. And is it not the unspeakable consolation of every true believer, that neither "voluntary," nor "involuntary" associations, principalities nor powers, nay, even the gates of hell, can ever prevail against Zion, for that the King of Zion hath spoken it; and blessed be his name! Why, all these "guilty fears," that betray so great a want of faith in his word? For, has he not told us to rejoice in the Lord always? And again, does he not say rejoice? Lift up your heads ye bowed down, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth, and he will favour Zion. The church, whose representative head is in the Heavens, will ultimately triumph in purity, splendour, and glory; still, the danger I apprehend of ecclesiastical bodies adopting this intolerant and proscriptive doctrine, lies deep in the present depravity of the human heart. However foreign to the motives or the wishes of the benevolent mind of the speaker, I yet most respectfully conceive, that the direct legitimate tendency of this fearful doctrine is, (unless mercifully overruled,) to work the entire destruction of all the good that the ordinances of the church were designed to accomplish. In reading the history of the nominal church, who has not seen

more than once a practical and most painful demonstration of this? And who does not know, that even now, there is more than one ecclesiastical body in the world claiming to be the only, if not the *infallible church*, regarding all others, daring to dissent, not as churches, but rather in the light in which our speaker does certain societies, as "unauthorized" (not to say *rebellious*) associations. Even the speaker himself, and his respectable denomination, (to whose claim has generally been accorded, the reputation of friends of freedom and equal rights,) by no means escapes this reprimand from the high and arrogant assumption of some ecclesiastical bodies. Indeed, we have but to glance at past periods, when some branch of the nominal church becoming powerful and corrupt, and ruled the world by ecclesiastical domination, or spiritual despotism; and also at the present time, in those countries where some branch of the nominal church had attained the ascendancy over all others, by means of this same intolerant and proscriptive doctrine, and united her power with the state, at once to give us the most forcible and alarming illustration of the practical result of the same anti-republican, monarchial doctrine.

Now I am one who believes that the framers of the American constitution were wise and good men, and that the spirit of universal toleration which they so clearly and so nobly manifested, they had thoroughly learned in the great and dear school of experience. For this constitution, (our last hope of liberty) every American citizen who *loves* and hopes still to enjoy civil and religious freedom, should forever manifest his most conscientious reverence, by ingenuously extending to all his fellow-

citizens, that same catholic spirit which dictated it, which is the very life and soul of that memorable chart of original human rights. In adverting to our speaker once more, I certainly cannot say less, than that I trust I duly appreciate his motives, his talents, and his virtues; but in his truly "*difficult and hazardous*" undertaking, I could but sympathize, and really felt that in his treatment of his subject, he manifested more "**PHILOSOPHY OF BENEVOLENCE**" than philosophy of *logic*.* His very slight attempt to make some little distinction in what he was pleased to style "voluntary associations," (which must include of course, all the moral and benevolent, as well as all the political associations of the day,) appeared to me to be altogether a failure; and by his ecclesiastical anathema, in reality he swept them all "by the board" "at one fell swoop," and left some one ecclesiastical body, claiming to be the only true church on earth, whether her *purity* be *corruption*, or her light darkness; sole mistress of the world.

I ask Christian freemen, and all the friends of constitutional, civil, and religious toleration, whether they are prepared to witness such a tragedy upon human liberty, played over again upon the stage of life. Has not some ecclesiastical power in the world, long enough, in this way, despotically experimented upon the liberties of mankind, under the dangerous pretext of advancing their sanctification and holiness? We might as well think of sanctifying the soul of a poor slave by the bloody lash of the cruel task master, or to instil a spirit of pure religion into the minds of men, by the horrors of

* The speaker is the author of an interesting and valuable work entitled "**PHILOSOPHY OF BENEVOLENCE.**"

the inquisition. Let it again be said, that where the spirit of the Lord is, there must be liberty, "pure and sanctified as the mountain air." What progress I would ask, has all the *bulls, anathemas, and fulminations sent out to the world by ecclesiastical power, to terrify mankind*, ever made, in ameliorating the fallen and sad condition of humanity? I speak only of a spirit as opposite to the spirit of Christ, as light is to darkness; for the spirit of HIM whose soul was all benevolence, so far as it has been manifested, *has ever blessed the world*. It has visited the sick, the widow, and the fatherless; fed the hungry; clothed the naked; administered to those in prison; broken all yokes and rods of oppressors; undone the heavy burdens, and opened the spiritual as well as the slaveholder's prisons and let the captives go free. But I speak of a power in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, arrayed and ensconced in darkness, behind the American church, directly or indirectly, either forging and fastening chains upon two and a half millions of our poor, borne down, and enslaved fellow-countrymen, or in some way smiting the kind hand that would fain file off these sore and galling chains, and pour wine and oil into the grievous and aching wounds they have made.

"On the side of the oppressor there was power, but they had no comforter! Of this mighty phalauX which have vainly fled for refuge from the pending judgements of offended Heaven, behind the desecrated altar, some by silence are consenting to the death, others dividing the raiment, others attempting to atone for their sins by selling the body to give the money to the needy, or to convert foreign heathen." But will not the "foreign heathen," before they enlist for life, ask some good as-

surance that they too, shall not be sold in turn under the hammer of such a slavery, pro-slavery ; or apologist slavery church, to convert *American heathen*? What would *you* do, reader, were *you* a "foreign heathen," and knew the "*thirty pieces of silver*," which sent your missionary to you, to be the price of the blood of millions of souls? Would you be likely to enlist for life, asking no questions "for conscience" sake?

The doctrine so speciously held forth, (not by our speaker only, but by an ecclesiastical *phalanx*, whose influence, I am pained to say, the soul-seller, and the soul-destroyer gladly claims,) that all "voluntary" associations to promote any good objects, out of the pale of the nominal church, are necessarily unlawful and improper, (though very plausible on a superficial view,) is still, but a dark relic of the "*dark ages of priestcraft*." It will forever promote *unhallowed ambition, and oppress piety itself*.

It is true, we know, that all salvation must come out of Zion. But I have yet to learn, that there is more than one eye in the wide universe, that beholds, with certainty, in what hearts the walls of the spiritual Zion are laid. Still we know that her walls, and her gates are salvation, and are ever before the King of Zion, and her name engraven upon his hands.

But we know too, that all ecclesiastical history, in connexion with the sacred pages, abundantly informs us, that at certain periods, what has been claimed to be the nominal, or the visible church, has been the great fountain of moral pollution in itself, and corruption to the whole world.

And if every church now on earth, was either a slaveholding, or a pro-slavery church ; I could not for one,

possibly hesitate a moment, to believe, that this would be, most emphatically, one of those *dreadful periods*, all our prayers, professions, and missionary zeal, apparently, to the contrary notwithstanding. They would all be but smoke, coming up before the God of the oppressed, and the God of holiness, who cannot be mocked with impunity.

But, even then, the spiritual church would still exist, and would ultimately prove a renovating, redeeming, and purifying spirit, "so as by fire." Yet, I verily believe, that did the whole world know what slavery is, and saw no church in the world, but a slaveholding one, or an apologist church for slavery, they would far sooner believe in a revelation yet to come, than they would believe there was any church on earth, unless indeed, it was instituted by a being of *malevolence*, instead of a being of *benevolence*, and such a church too, would be shunned by all persons in their senses, with their eyes open, regardless of condition or colour, as they would shun the vampire, the crocodile, the crater, or the whirlpool of death!!

It does appear to me, that there can be no doubt, but that the toleration of slavery in the American churches, has contributed more, far more, by all its legitimate, demoralizing, and corrupting influences, to the prevalence of American skepticism in all divine truth, with its consequent train of untold evils, seen and unseen, than all other causes combined.

Slavery being sustained by the *nominal* church, appears to have been the great source of moral degeneration in this country, which has been spreading itself for

nearly a century, like a gangrene, and corrupting not the church only, but the whole body politic.

And who should wonder at this? What mortal eye can see to what alarming extent the slaveholding spirit, with *its numerous progeny of evil spirits*, has already corrupted the American church?

Not to name her long accustomed practice of saying to the rich man, with the costly apparel, and the "gold ring," come up hither; and to the poor man, in plain apparel, sit thou here under my footstool;—to say nothing of her bowing down to gods of silver and of gold, instead of the God of Heaven and of holiness: she has long been guilty of still higher, and broader, and more Heaven-daring abominations; even that of designedly withholding the word of life from her own members, and then selling them under the hammer of the auctioneer, from all the divinely, and most endearingly instituted relations of life, into returnless bondage, and that too, sometimes, under the hypocritical, and Heaven-insulting sanctity, to raise money to convert the "*poor heathen*."

I will not here pretend to say, how far in the eye of purity, all these, with nameless other evils, fall short of the corruptions, and consequent dreadful practices of the Roman hierarchy itself.

If the present nominal churches in America do not speedily repent, and put away from them such Heaven-offending abominations, who can tell that God in his righteous providence, will not say to his own chosen ones, whoever they may be, whether Publicans or Samaritans, come out from among them, and be ye separate?

But, says one, no man should dare speculate in this manner upon "sacred things," unless he be clothed with *clerical authority, and sacerdotal robes*. From this high ecclesiastical assumption, however, I must for one forever dissent, as a doctrine tending directly to ecclesiastical despotism, just as much to be deprecated as any other absolute power on earth, wrongfully exercised by man over his fellow.

All admit that the spiritual Zion of God can only be discerned by its Great Head on high. Hence, it clearly follows, that the assumption of any political or ecclesiastical body whatever, to claim the absolute dictatorship over any man, so far as to deprive him of his inalienable and constitutional rights of conscience, would be altogether unwarrantable, intolerant, and imminently dangerous; as striking at the very foundation, not only of all *civil*, but of all *religious* liberty.

Ministers or laymen, professing great *abhorrence* to slavery in the "*abstract*," and great *friendship* to "*anti-slavery*" "*in general*," and at the same time, claiming and exercising an ecclesiastical jurisdiction to discipline members of their churches, for speaking or praying on the subject of slavery, agreeable to the dictates of their own consciences, is not only a glaring anomaly, but a most *wicked and startling stride of popish despotism*, against which, so far as my humble protest may go, I hope it will ever most cordially be entered, for the interests of pure religion, for the cause of holy freedom, for the highest and best good of my fellow-men, and my beloved country.

A church might just as well assume the prerogative, to dictate to its members, what political party they shall

belong to, and what candidate for office they shall vote for. All this is only the principle legitimately carried out. And, indeed, it would not stop here, but by this same aggressive principle, upon inalienable rights, it would assume to tax your property, to any extent within the *sovereign pleasure of an ecclesiastical body*.

All this arrogant assumption over the civil and religious liberties of others; nay, much more, is the dreadful result of the first invasion of the sacred castle, containing the Heaven-descended legacy, "the inalienable rights of man." This castle once profanely entered, the spoiler rudely plunders whatever he can lay his despotic hand upon. It should be guarded, as we guard the seat of life; and under no pretext, however plausible, whether moral, political, or religious, should it be suffered to be invaded. If this doctrine, of the infallibility of the CHURCH, or the POPE, should ever again obtain, the CHURCH, of course, would resume all that prerogative over her members, and ultimately over the world, which the Pope of Rome himself claimed, and which he so long exercised, with so cruel and despotic sway. The doctrine of the infallibility of the POPE, and the infallibility of the CHURCH, is most clearly, one and the same thing. •

And all history, experience, and common sense, unite to show us, that it ends in the sacrilegious worship of the *Church*, instead of the worship of the *living and the true God*; and not in the destruction of all true piety only, but in the entire subversion of all *civil*, as well as all religious liberty.

If the glorious millennial morn is ever to break upon an enraptured world, it will doubtless be preceded by

the dawnings of purer, freer, and more equal governments among men, than the earth has ever yet beheld, when the clanking of no chains upon guiltless men, women, and children, shall be heard, nor the sound of the voice, and the hammer of the auctioneer, in selling to the highest bidder, forever, his fellow and his brother, "from wife, from children, and from friends unseen," and from the desecrated communion table of his SAVIOUR.

It will also, doubtless, be a time when no man will be mobbed, or assassinated for speaking his sentiments freely. And its entire consummation, so devoutly to be wished, would be, *love to God* SUPREME, *and to man* UNIVERSAL; as the ruling motive of all, regardless of condition or colour.

Hear the voice of an American foreign missionary on this subject, in an extract from his late letter to his friends in this, his native country.

"I write because it is a privilege for me, (as I think it should be for every Christian,) to take an open and decided stand in favour of those who are labouring to crush slavery. Especially is this a privilege at a time when morbid prudence, or time-serving policy is setting afloat the sentiment that it is a subject with which the missionary should not intermeddle. I must confess, that if the immediate abolition of slavery is a subject in which Christians, of every name, circumstance, or occupation, whether public or private, individual or corporate, may not, and should not take an open, undisguised, and active part; then there is no subject in all the wide field of benevolent action, in which they should do so.

“Of all the abominations that have cursed the earth, where is there one more flagrant, than that of enslaving and crushing to dust our fellow-men? Of all the sins, which Christians are called upon to oppose at the present day, where is there a more heinous one than the one your society are labouring to destroy? The mere fact, that insisting upon the immediate abolition of slavery, and that describing in Bible language, the odiousness of traffic in human flesh, will disoblige a class of interested persons, however great, is no proof that either sound prudence, or the religion of Christ, requires one to forbear.”

I consider, even the best of Christians, but men subject to like passions, interests, and prejudices, of other men; and by consequence, exposed to like temptations.

And while I would fain hope, that the spirit of the gospel of peace, and the love of holy and rational liberty, consisting of equal justice, and equal rights, to all men, should ever triumph in our beloved country, and prevail over all considerations of an unhallowed, selfish, and debasing character, still, of this we can have no positive assurance until the coming of that blessed and glorious day, when “*Holiness to the Lord! shall be written on every thing beneath the sun.*”

But who pretends that ecclesiastical bodies are not now, in a great degree, like other bodies, composed of “erring mortals,” by no means entirely free, either from *intentional* or *unintentional* wrongs, or from unhallowed ambition? And as a professed believer in the Christian religion, and in its ultimate redeeming and purifying spirit and principles, and as an American citizen, and a

humble individual, I am still prepared to give it as my most deliberate opinion, that if the liberties of our beloved country are destined ever to be subverted, to say the least, the *temptations* to the great national ecclesiastical bodies to participate, directly or indirectly, in the consummation of a catastrophe so direful, would be fully equal to that of *political* bodies. And I think there might be strong reasons adduced in proof, that they may be in some instances even greater. To mention no other one at present, the strong and almost indissoluble ties among the great national ecclesiastical bodies, with all their variously connected and equally extensive and "voluntary benevolent associations," have already drawn out fearful symptoms in portions of these bodies at the north, not only of a *passive*, but of an *active* disposition to bring all to succumb to the arrogant dictation of southern ecclesiastical assumption, (which so completely chimes in with all the outrages which our wounded and bleeding constitution and laws have suffered by "demagogues in the *House*," and by "mobocrats out of *doors*,") even at the dreadful sacrifice of the most important, inalienable, and constitutional rights of a large portion of *northern*, but *American* citizens. I mean the sacred and the unmolested liberty of speech and the press.

• Life has also recently been wantonly sacrificed; the life, too, of a valuable and an independent American freeman, by the tacit consent (with a few noble exceptions) of the ecclesiastical bodies in our country. The innocent blood of Lovejoy is now reeking upon this guilty nation, of which these powerful and highly responsible ecclesiastical bodies, to God, to their coun-

try, to posterity, and to the world, form an important constituent part. I said that an innocent and an undefending American citizen was unlawfully put to death, with the virtual consent of a large portion of the nominal American Christian Church. For, to have been true to the constitution, true to their country, to their religion, and to their God, all the ecclesiastical bodies in the whole land, regardless of sect or location, at the sad announcement of the horrid massacre of one of their own dear countrymen by a ruthless mob, while in the *lawful* defence of his most undoubted rights, as by an electric shock, should have rallied around their respective standards; and a loud voice should have broken out from among them, that would at once awoke this slumbering nation into life, to call without delay, for the righteous demands of an insulted country, by the high-handed violation of the sanctity, and of the majesty of her laws.

Christians, patriots, and philanthropists, who carefully observe the signs of the times, at such OMINOUS SILENCE, *at an event so awful, may well tremble, with dark and fearful forebodings!!* Whether the vast temptations to all the great national, ecclesiastical bodies, with all their associations which have been alluded to, shall form an "AMERICAN HOLY ALLIANCE," or shall ultimately be more patriotically and more religiously withstood by *them*, than shall be all the *political* temptations to *political bodies*, remains to be seen. And whether neither ecclesiastical nor political bodies shall heroically and patriotically withstand the temptations to grasp unhallowed power, to enslave the country, but shall actually unite in effecting the entire subversion of

all our liberties, the people, of course, will look well to, if they mean long to remain free. Who can fail to see that the NATIONAL CHURCH and the state, are *virtually* uniting on the side of slavery for *all*, instead of liberty for *all*?

But if, indeed, we are already in a state of gradual (or rather rapid) preparation for servitude and vassalage, we shall be unsuspecting, unwatchful, and lax in our energies and our efforts. We shall amuse ourselves with the syren song; *peace, and safety*; "*a little more sleep, a little more slumber, and a little more folding the arms to sleep.*" And if *past recovery*, we shall *unconsciously* become more and more insensible to our true condition; until our doom be sealed forever, and we can servilely hug our chains, and humbly kiss the rod that smites us.

Let neither the most fastidious, nor even the most pious, feel for a moment that the consideration of temptations, to evils so vast, are too sacred to be thrown before the American public and the world. Far otherwise!! Such feelings would arise from contracted and dangerous bigotry, and not from enlightened, pure, undefiled, and saving religion, which would fain exhibit the truth, and leave it with the God of truth, imploring his blessing upon it. Surely dangers so great, to all our civil, and all our religious liberties; to property, person, — and to life itself, — are just as much proper subjects of holy conversation, and the most fervent prayer, for the most sincere and devout Christians in the land, as even the salvation of a world; for, when civil and religious liberties become subverted, all such religious toleration of the inalienable rights of conscience, which the letter and

the spirit of our once idolized constitution so sacredly guaranties to every American citizen, would come to an end ; and our conversation, our devotions, and our prayers, must then no longer be dictated by *Him* who heareth prayer, but by man. We should not then, as now, be blessed with the high and Heaven-born privilege of worshipping our Maker "*under our own vine and fig-tree, where there are none to molest us, or to make us afraid.*"

From a careful, but painful, consideration of the whole dreadful subject of American slavery, in all its fearful national consequences, morally and politically, I have at length arrived at the most deliberate, and, probably, irreversible conclusion, that the chains which now bind down to the earth two and a half millions of my dear fellow-men and fellow-countrymen, by whatever *plausible* and sacred, but *desecrated* names now called, whether political, ecclesiastical, or even religious, should at once and forever be christened by their *real names*, "*high-handed tyranny,*" and "*Heaven-daring wickedness;*" the opinions about denunciatory language, of some of our highly esteemed fellow-citizens, (who seem not yet, from some cause, to have laid our great national oppressions much to heart ;) *to the contrary notwithstanding.* It is therefore my settled, and, I trust, unalterable purpose, as I hope, out of regard to the best interests of my fellow-men and of my country, while life remains, peacefully and lawfully to use the sharp file of naked truth upon these cruel chains, until they fall from the limbs of my so long, and so much abused, and debased brother ; and he shall lift up his bowed head, and stand erect ; in all that original and inalienable independence, dignity, majesty, and grandeur, in which his Maker

‘formed’ him, in his own divine image; and, until our beloved country, too, shall thereby stand forth redeemed before high Heaven, and the nations of the earth.

But let us make a more particular reference to the various plausible attitudes of opposition to all objects, to which, for any cause whatever, we feel opposed; which we are all of us so very prone to assume; and to which we openly, or more covertly, manifest our dislike.

In a certain stage of the temperance cause, for example, there were a great many professed friends to temperance, in the “*abstract*,” but who were much opposed to societies and to temperance, in “*detail*,” but whenever they had occasion to “open their mouths” on the subject of temperance, it was done in a way, either directly or indirectly, to injure and to wound the cause, in “*particular*,” which they so much professed to love in “*general*.”

I have to acknowledge I do not understand such kind of “*abstract*” or *general* friendship; and I should think it would be like self-righteousness, and that the less any good cause had of it the better.

There are but two causes, in most instances, which keep persons (who might otherwise be admitted,) out of societies organized for the promotion of a given object. One is, either secret, or open hostility from interest or otherwise, to their principles; and the other is, from lack of nerve, or constitutional, or moral stamina, fear of their popularity, in breasting popular prejudices. There are, sometimes, persons who would be willing to be known as members of certain societies in one latitude, but not before the whole world. This class will be apt to keep back “part of the price.”

As the *phrenologist* would say, "they may possibly be in the organ of *conscientiousness*, *benevolence*, or *deficient combativeness*, or perchance not overstocked with any one of these *ingredients*." Some people are determined to be popular at all hazards; but it requires but little discernment to see, that such individuals, from the very nature of the case, must most emphatically be persons of no *fixed principles of action*; unless, indeed, it may be considered a principle of action, to be "all things to all men, for our *own* sakes."

They are the mere useless floating particles of creation. Having themselves no ideas or principles, they seldom or never venture an opinion about *men* or *things*, "pro or con," unless as mere echoes to public or party sentiment. *Non-committalism* is their watch word and their natural element. Society, of necessity, must ever be indebted to other sources, for its pillars and strength, as much more, as the superstructure of an edifice is indebted for its support to its very foundation, than to the vane upon its top, that merely tells the mariner when to spread his canvas. The doctrine of "*expediency*," and "*non-committalism*," are twin brothers. They are a kind of one eyed monster, and that one eye appears to be inverted; and forever directed wholly upon self.

SECTION XVII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE PEACE IS SO VERY DESIRABLE."

Is it not plain that this lover of peace has by some means reversed in his mind the good Scripture doctrine which is "first pure, then peaceable." I once heard a very peaceable and kind-hearted man, as I supposed he was, make this objection to the discussion of slavery. It instantly reminded me, however, of a toast which a veteran of the revolution, now living among us, often used to give in my hearing when a boy. On being asked why he never gave any other toast, he replied, because the soldiers, for some time before the close of the war, though nearly exhausted by its hard fatigues, and death staring them in the face from every quarter, gave none but this; and he regarded it, he said, as comprehending all others worth giving. It was this short but very significant one, "*Peace on good terms.*" And as the sentiment is equally applicable, morally or politically, I shall leave this objection here for all to make their own application.

Who does not know that there is the peace of death, and also the peace of God, that passeth understanding? A peace man should contend earnestly for emancipation in the same sense, and in the same spirit in which Christians are commanded to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. It certainly was a justly celebrated sentiment also of President Jackson,

in adjusting national differences, "ask for nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing wrong." This in a properly qualified sense, is both Christian and republican doctrine.

Were *we* under the deep and dreadful curse of slavery in a nation where the awful stillness of the "*peace of death*" reigned around us, on account of our condition, think you we should not, in the depth of our souls, be ready to pronounce a wo upon such a people? And what could be our anticipations of a Heaven in which to spend an eternity with such beings as our relentless and merciless oppressors?

And did we suppose there were no God but their God, could we possibly desire always to be confined in his presence? Would it indeed be hardly in the power of mind to conceive of a place where we should not in preference desire to dwell forever?

SECTION XVIII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE IT IS, OR WILL BECOME A POLITICAL SUBJECT."

THIS same plea was once urged against the temperance cause. Who cannot see the origin of this unfounded charge? And who does not know that to a drunken man all things stagger, to the jaundiced eye, all things are yellow, and that to the *exclusively political man all things are political*? The charge itself is unfounded; but if true, what then? Would not the same great principles of human rights still be involved in the subject of slavery, whether moral, political, or both? It is indeed lamentably true, that comparatively a few slaveholders, without any distinct party organization, have held the balance of power, and ruled the country with the task-master's rod of correction. It is therefore hard to tell what men *would* mean by such an objection. They seem to speak as though freemen had no right to think, to speak, or to act politically as well as morally in a free country. The objection amounts to just nothing at all in my estimation. If the great principles of the American constitution are destined to triumph in this land, slavery certainly will be abolished, and universal rational freedom will prevail, whether public opinion shall be created by means of societies or otherwise; nevertheless I think perhaps it may be best to examine this objection a little, and see what can be made of it. Does it mean

that we have one or two "lawfully established political parties in the country, and no man must dare presume to think, speak, or act politically or morally in any manner that might seem to be against them, or to disapprove their course or their principles in any case whatever? If this be its meaning, we be to the man who takes this stand in a land of freedom until THE DIVINE RIGHTS OF KINGS SHALL BE ESTABLISHED FOREVER, AS IRREVOCABLY AS THE LAWS OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

Now the friends of this cause deny that the subject in itself is political on mere party grounds, or that they desire to make it so, but claim that the prevalence of the great and self evident MORAL PRINCIPLES it involves would, from a wholesome public sentiment, soon peacefully and effectually accomplish the greatly desired object of universal emancipation and rational constitutional freedom throughout the land. And what they complain of is, not that any of their fellow-citizens exercise their constitutional right to oppose these principles which they deem so vitally essential to the freedom of the slave, their own and their children's freedom, and that of our common country, but that they do not oppose them in a constitutional manner, as becomes the honour and the dignity of freemen. But as it were, are sinking trenches and throwing up breastworks in midnight darkness against the approach of a friend and not of an enemy. They only ask their fellow-citizens to come out into the open field, and bravely meet them with the noble Christian and republican armour of truth and argument. It is true that all questions of great and increasing importance are always liable to be seized upon by mere wily party politicians to be turned to their own and to their

party's account under pretence of "loving the people most dearly."

But as to the anti-slavery cause, thus far, eagle eyed and "expedient" politicians of all parties, with what John Randolph would call "dough faces," have laboured most assiduously to put it far from them for the important reason that it was unpopular, and not because it was not right in itself. But public opinion will roll on, if liberty in our beloved land is destined to triumph, and leave this class of men in their own reveries, "*to behold and wonder, and perish.*" It is however very hopeful that many who have heretofore pursued this course have paused, and are at least "considering on their way."

It is certainly painfully amusing to see the "expedient" manœuvering of mere party tacticians in politics, on all subjects which they deem in any way likely to affect their political interests. While a subject of any kind, however humane or patriotic in itself, is decidedly unpopular, they will most unqualifiedly repudiate it; and each party exerts its utmost influence, and often by base means to charge it over to the credit, or rather, as they intend to the *disgrace* of its opponents.

Let the same thing become popular to-day, forgetting what it was doing but yesterday, each party at once claims to be its most fearless advocate and its principal instigator. These are grave matters of every day occurrence among men whose very trade is *party* politics. Philanthropists must not wait for prominent political men (as such only) of any party before they will move on in this great and noble cause of human rights, or in any other cause of humanity and benevolence; for in so doing they would be acting like the man loitering

on the bank of a river with an exhaustless fountain, waiting for the water to run by, that he might pass over dry shod. The anti-slavery cause in its moral bearing, from its sacredness, has little to hope from mere sordid party politicians of any name ; for these are the very men for the most obvious of selfish reasons, who have thus far been holding it up with its friends to the most cruel contempt and derision. I speak now of such partisans only, of any name, whether Van Buren, Whig, or Loco Foco, if their motto should be, "*we must stop at nothing to accomplish our ends.*" Politicians of this stamp, I care not what the name, if they obtain the ascendancy of the public mind, will most certainly demoralize and ultimately ruin any country, just so sure as *virtue is conservative, and vice destructive.* Any people to be safe must have the intelligence to *see*, and the virtue to *adhere* to the constitutional principles of their compact ; but forever reserving their safe, wholesome, inalienable rights ; of freely discussing, and of suggesting the propriety of changes or alterations from time to time, according to circumstances, *as they may conceive* such changes or alterations *to be for the greatest good of all concerned.* Short of this kind of rational freedom it is seen at once, that there must be an end to all improvement in civilized life.

But whenever leading politicians are found wanting, either in this necessary intelligence or virtue, to accomplish some favourite scheme of their own, they often deem it "expedient" to advance doctrines unconstitutional, disorganizing, and dangerous. And in such cases, in all countries, and in all ages, unthinking men, in a reckless, and ruthless spirit of mobocracy, have

acted only as their blind echoes and allies. It is most devoutly to be hoped that the people would keep the anti-slavery cause or the cause of freedom, which is their own cause, out of the control of any such men. This will be the only rational hope for the oppressed and for the country. It is more and more being seen and felt every day, that the cause of coloured emancipation in our land is indeed most emphatically the cause of freedom itself for all. If this principle be not sufficiently seen and felt in time, all hope of our remaining a free people much longer will be over forever. And if an absolute government should ever be established on the ruins of the present, it would unquestionably be of the most despotic character. Let us not dare become so intoxicated with our present freedom as for a moment to *dream that even all this is quite beyond the possibility of human events!!* If the anti-slavery cause in our country is destined to succeed, the truth must and will be felt, that it is in every sense for us all, the cause of freedom against oppression and tyranny. And it should be remembered also, that "on the side of the oppressor there is power." And while the friends of truth and freedom do not rely on physical or numerical power, they must and ought to rely largely on the power of truth and the genuine principles of rational liberty, with the blessing of Heaven. My opinion would be to the friends of freedom and the oppressed, studiously to avoid identifying this cause with any political party whatever, while they still individually nobly *withhold* their suffrages or cast them clearly on the side of rational liberty. The slavery interest in our country is so tremendous that no prominent and leading politician of any party (whatever

his private sentiments may be,) will dare openly to array himself against it, until he think he shall be sustained by the people. Such men of course feel little sense of moral obligation, but all with them is party and "expediency."

You talk of moral obligation to such men, and you seem to them as Lot did to the Sodomites, as one that "mocks," and they cry, fanatic! fanatic! or in other words, thou fool!!

Though the all-reforming power is found to lie with the body of the people, nevertheless, public men, and leading politicians, never appear to better advantage, as men, than when they plant their feet (like the venerable Ex-President, John Quincy Adams,) on some great reforming principle, and there, regardless of popular favour, or popular indignation, determine to abide the issue.

Public men are by no means acting worthy of the confidence of the people, when they act only on the "*time serving*" principle. They should ever act as one *of* the people, and one *with* the people, having interests in common with them. The public are entitled to every freeman's opinions, and public men should give theirs on all subjects of public interest, as disinterestedly, as honestly, and as unreservedly as private citizens.

Let no professed patriot, for a moment, feel that he has done his part towards sustaining, and perpetuating the liberties of his country, by barely informing *himself* of the existence of impending dangers. He should also embrace every proper opportunity, to impart this information to all his countrymen, at the hazard, even of

property, of reputation, and of life itself, if necessary. The noble Lovejoy, with thousands of others in the world, who have fallen in freedom's cause, felt so. With regard to Lovejoy, when all the lumber of prejudice, which the magic power of slavery has been manufacturing for ages, shall be rolled from the public mind by the strong lever of truth, his character will then be thus seen, like the sun breaking out from a gloom of clouds, and shining forth in his own native brilliancy and splendour.

Hence, we see, that no one in a high sense, can be truly a valuable citizen of a free government, unless he adopt efficient means, so far as shall be within his power, both to acquire, and to impart correct information in all things that pertain to the good of his country, and his fellow-men, regardless of his own sordid, private interests.

Do we not see, that men in all ages, whose souls have been most enlarged, like that of Washington or Lafayette, with this disinterested love of country, or of liberty and mankind, are the distinguished patriots and philanthropists, whose names, and whose virtues, are embalmed and immortalized in the memory of man?

Such names shall live; while the names of those who hold to, and act upon the principle, that "*slavery is the best basis of freedom*," shall moulder in forgetfulness.

We know, that that most specious doctrine of "*expediency*," so much harped upon by "demagogues," (the opponents of "fanaticks,") and which has already, so greatly corrupted, and endangered the stability, and perhaps the very existence of all our institutions, both

of church and of state, in our presumptuous and "Heaven-daring" nation, is as widely different from this, as are the poles apart; for the one seeks *self*, and the other its COUNTRY.

Yet, the corrupt and degenerate use of the term "expedient," has come to mean, unqualifiedly, that which is best, for my most noble and beloved self, and for my beloved "party," — totally regardless of abstract justice or right. It thus aims a most deadly blow, at the very root of all truth, and would fill the world with "cold and heartless selfishness, and *lies*."

Whatever may be said by Americans, about "*pell-coat government*," who can but favourably regard the present Queen of England, for the excellent sentiment, recently expressed by her, when one of her Courtiers proposed a measure to her "majesty," as a very "expedient" one. — "Talk not of 'expedients,'" was her noble reply, "but tell me, is it *right*?"

We should also, to be consistent patriots, exercise our sacred right of suffrage, with strict, and conscientious reference to principle, and not to men. I do not mean *that* principle which will lead us to best serve our favourite party, but the cause of truth, our FAVOURITE COUNTRY, AND POSTERITY. For instance, I have one vote, which is as sacred and as dear to me, as though I had five hundred votes, based on property in human flesh.

All others, of course, will do as they pleased, but so far as regards myself, I am perfectly willing the world should know, (call it "abolitionism," or what they may,) that I will give my one vote to no man living, to be my servant, ruler, or law-maker, unless I previously know

it to be his sentiment, that all public servants of the people should ever feel themselves under the highest possible obligation, forever to stand by, and protect the free and constitutional right of speech, freedom of discussion, and liberty of the press, independent of all party considerations whatever; and also to stand up firmly and immovably, under all circumstances, for the sacred constitutional rights of respectful petition from the people, to whom they owe their promotion, and whose servants they are, and not only for the respectful reception of all such petitions from the people, by their servants or representatives, but for a candid examination of their claims; and who would not insult the people, by recklessly trampling their petitions under their feet, or contemptuously throwing them *on*, or *under* the table.

Should I not at least require these prominent qualifications to be indispensable in any man claiming my suffrage, I should consider myself acting as an enemy and a traitor to my country and posterity.

I have made these plain remarks in this place, as being somewhat relevant to the subject, to show what I thought were the bounds in exercising the right of suffrage, beyond which, acting with a proper regard to himself and his country, no man can pass with impunity, let his politics, or let his opinions about the emancipation of the slaves, be what they may. If the people can have a fair hearing of all subjects, I could most confidently trust the result.

Whoever shall violate these fundamental and self-evident principles, for any pretence whatever, for party, or otherwise, cannot, I think, be properly regarded a consistent friend to freedom, to his country; to his own

rights, or to the rights of others. And the evil of his course will most inevitably, ere long, fall back with crushing weight upon his own head, or upon the heads of his children. Such a man would receive the imprecations and curses, and not the benedictions, of his descendants. One might flatter himself that he can enjoy power for a "brief space" by such a course; but it should be remembered, it is far from being patriotic.

While the great and prominent object of this holy enterprise is the liberation from thralldom, and to effect the highest temporal, as well as eternal good, of two and a half millions of our suffering fellow-beings, in cruel bondage; still, notwithstanding northern demagogues, who are courting southern favour, cry "hush! hush! you traitor to the Union," whenever a northern man attempts to speak of his moral or political constitutional rights; yet northern freemen, who would act for themselves and their posterity, must be unhappily and amazingly blinded, not to see that the slaveholding states are united and determined to make the inhuman institution of slavery the powerful engine of the speedy and entire subjugation of northern liberties.

And will the north be made instrumental to effect her own ruin? Who does not see that the slave states, though their movements are insidious, are even now all alive for the immediate admission of the vast country of Texas into the Union, which, when politically carved up into a number of slave states, they secure the balance in the senate, and our liberties are gone! Revolt, or base vassalage to a slaveholding nation, would then be our inevitable doom. Great men, and all men, at the north, would then be in the like degraded condition.

We might then imploringly look to our Van Burens, our Marcies, our Wrights, our Adamsses, or our Websters, for help, but look in vain. They, too, would be shorn of their locks by the demon of slavery, and the people would awake, when too late, and anxiously inquire, what Delilah hath done this?

Who could not understand the heavy draft from the south, drawn upon northern liberties, previous to the last presidential election, and which was most basely honoured, by contending politicians of all parties, vying for southern favour, by way of unheard-of abuse in a civilized land, of their own northern fellow-citizens, and even by threatening northern freemen (for the mere exercise of their undoubted constitutional rights,) with gag-law, with chains, and with death? Can it indeed be possible, in order to effect their own ends, that slaveholders and their abettors can ever again raise the "hue and cry" to any purpose against abolitionists, as being a reckless and bloodthirsty set of men!!? How long will the north sacrifice her own citizens on this bloody Moloch of southern slavery?

The doctrine which of late has been more than intimated from various quarters of our country, as being correct, that the mere impulse of the will, for the time being, of every community, or neighbourhood, is superior to, and should prevail over all written laws, and constitutions, is unfounded and dangerous in the extreme. Indeed, it is but another name for the watchword, "down with all laws;" let anarchy and brute-force riot through the land; let every man arm himself with deadly weapons of self-defence, for his life, his family, and his property.

Fellow-countrymen, shall we not firmly and timely resist this current of danger, ruin, and death, to all that our fathers so nobly won for us? Would not our departed fathers' blood, which purchased our dear bought liberties, cry aloud from their tombs, to warn their sons of the threatened approach of so deadly an enemy? And will not the sons of sires so noble, arise in time, and with weapons of truth, tempered with a spirit of philanthropy and patriotism, repel the invader? Or are we, indeed, sunk so low, that we can look quietly on and behold the foe, thus wantonly revelling upon relics so sacred? Ought not all who venerate the ashes of the slain for our freedom; all who love their country, and their fellow-men, to stand erect, and manfully contribute whatever of influence they possess, to roll back this tide of desolation? Who cannot see, that he, who connives at, and encourages mobs, by holding out the idea that they must be right, because they "represent the popular will," must be aiming a most fatal blow to our only safeguards, the institutions of our fathers? Whose property, whose family, whose life, can be safe amid such a state of things? You ask me, if I am alarmed? I answer, it is the part of wisdom, to prevent a coming evil, even when we feel conscious that we possess a remedy, or an alternative, should it come. For one, I only speak the language of thousands, when I say, that I always did, as a general political principle, most heartily approve, with proper qualifications, of that "good Jacksonian doctrine," "to ask for nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing wrong." One of my most sacred and constitutional rights is the freedom of speech, which I cannot under any circumstances whatever surrender.

Even the "UNION" itself, as much as I have idolized it, as a broad foundation of future national greatness, compared with this first best boon of heaven, would be to it, as a grain of sand to the globe.

An eminent statesman once said, "his opinions, like every man's, were public stock, and express them he would, let the consequences be what they might; for the precise results, he said, of the free expression of his honest sentiments he could not feel himself bound to know." My property, character, and all, are light in the balance of this first and last right of all rights, the freedom of speech. The slaveholding, or man-stealing, and man-robbing institution, aside from its being fraught in all its hideous features, with the most cruel "inhumanity to man," by violently wresting from him all his inborn and inalienable rights, and above all, the "centre right" of all rights, the right to himself, is a most powerful political engine, from its vastly partial and unequal scale of representations between non-slaveholding and slaveholding states, founded entirely on this abhorrent and despotic institution of slavery, which is most rapidly swallowing up northern liberties into the very vortex of slaveholding despotism. On this subject, a writer possessed of a high order of talents, and sound patriotism, remarks, that "under the first census of the United States, the freemen of the slaveholding states had the privilege of electing thirteen more representatives to congress than political equality, with the non-slaveholding states would have given them; and the legislatures of the first mentioned states, of designating thirteen more electors of president and vice-president, than the same equality would have given them. Under the last census

in the equality is nearly in the same proportion, though the number of representatives and electors have greatly increased.

The extra representatives in congress, and also the presidential electors for *property in our fellow-men* will be thirty in 1840.

In VIRGINIA, the political power of FIVE of her freemen, in respect to the same important offices, is equal to SEVEN freemen in the state of NEW-YORK. The relative power of the freemen in the other states being greater in proportion to the increase of the number of human beings, deprived of all rights in the former.

In consequence of the admission of slavery into the three new states west of the Mississippi, they send THREE representatives to Congress, and designate THREE electors of our chief magistrate, more than they could claim by any equitable apportionment.

This is the reason, too, together with the fact, that at every great political movement in the nation, (as at the last presidential election; Missouri, and the tariff questions, &c. &c.) the slave states always immediately rallying on this *common ground of interest*, (entirely regardless of their *usual party lines*,) and forming one "*mighty phalanx*;" why, these states, with but about one-fourth part of the FREEMEN in the Union, have always been enabled, to a great extent, to give *law and tone to the nation!!* This is also the reason, if not timely counteracted, why SLAVERY, to sustain itself, with all its dreadful oppressions, will rapidly convert our *nominally free* government into an entire slaveholding despotism, both for the "bleached and the un-

bleached." * The artful pretext will be to support the Union. This may take with the north to their ultimate ruin!! "Ought any more new states," asks this writer, "with such unequal and ill-founded political advantages, to be admitted into the Union? Can any well-meaning citizen," continues this able writer, patriot, and statesman, "excuse himself to his own love of liberty, and say, that we ought not to explain, set up, and to defend our equal rights? That we ought not to speak, and write, and publish the truth on slavery, so intimately affecting our interests and our duties not only to the enslaved, but to ourselves and our posterity?"

Who does not see that the despotic system of political representation for *property in man* is such, that even *one* slaveholder, give him *slaves* enough, might *politically own and rule millions of nominal freemen*? Indeed, it is now *virtually* done by *comparatively few* slaveholders, with their 500 and their 1000 slaves a-piece!!

Southern politicians well understand this *undue political advantage* which they hold over the *nominally free states*, and they are determined, if possible, to maintain it, by continuing to blind the north on the whole subject of slavery, by suppressing free discussion upon it, and also by perpetuating and extending this most diabolical system of grinding the poor coloured people under their iron hoof of despotism. And they would fain seem willing to make these wretched victims of their cruel power, who are now as *their footstool*, but the *stepping-*

* The language of a slaveholding governor, in making this same prediction to show that white *labourers* in this country must all come to slavery in twenty-five years.

stone of other footstools of a lighter hue. "Slavery is the best basis of freedom," exclaims Calhoun and *Mr. Duffie*. The watchword of slavery is, that all must bow down to this idol, *coloured or uncoloured*, north or south, east or west.

The free states having at present forty-four votes majority in both houses in Congress; notwithstanding the very great inequality of slaveholding and non-slaveholding representation, should there prove to be sufficient intelligence and virtue in the great body of the people to bring their clear constitutional power successfully and happily to bear, in abolishing slavery in the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, in the TERRITORIES, and to abolish the INTER-STATE SLAVE TRAFFIC; they might yet do much, (perfectly honourable, being altogether consistent with every particle of plighted faith, which can possibly be found to be, even the most scrupulously expressed or implied,) towards preserving their own liberties, saving the nation from ultimate and absolute despotism, and at the same time take an important step towards relieving our suffering countrymen from their heavy and grievous bondage. This would still be giving slaveholders all the unequal and despotic political advantage they so tenaciously claim by what they call their *slave representation*.

Many of our northern statesmen have unquestionably long seen this vast inequality of northern and southern political rights, but dared not patriotically proclaim it, lest the PEOPLE should not appreciate their views and sustain them. But there is hope, whether POLITICIANS do it or not, that the PEOPLE, in their might, are "now coming to the rescue of LIBERTY." Many northern *party politicians* have also undoubtedly seen this, and

have desired it should so continue, and not even be looked into and discussed by the PEOPLE; for the very obvious reason, that they were either then enjoying, or expecting soon to enjoy, the ill-gotten spoils of slavery in common with southern slaveholding politicians, by way of offices of emolument within the gift of the whole AMALGAMATED UNION. Nay, more! Some of this class at the north, in hopes by it still to enjoy the *polluted spoils* arising from this *unhallowed partnership* with slaveholding politicians, have gone to great and unwarrantable lengths in abusing and oppressing northern freemen who were endeavouring to exercise their unquestionable constitutional rights, by looking into, and investigating this subject, in immediate connexion with the great philanthropic subject of universal emancipation. This great abuse of freemen has been carried on, too, by wily politicians, under the very plausible pretext of the *wonderful patriotism* of "preserving the Union;" just as though the Union could not be preserved, and the freedom of speech and the press still be sacredly maintained.

What will the "sovereign people" say to all this? Will they barter away their right of speech for golden but visionary promises, or "*sell their birthright for a mess of pottage*?"

Which did such time-serving politicians probably care most about in thus profanely trampling on freemen's rights, — "preserving the Union," or preserving their "LOAVES AND FISHES?"

It ought ever to be remembered, by every freeman who would still enjoy liberty, that he who advocates even the Union itself, at the dreadful and fatal sacrifices

of the right of speech, the right of petition, and the liberty of the press, — whatever his opinions or his motives may be, — is in reality clearly advocating the doctrine of *slavery* for all (*not freedom*,) regardless of colour. And should such a doctrine be suffered to prevail by artful politicians blinding the eyes of the people, the sequel will most unquestionably prove it to be so.

As much as we have idolized the Union as a great bulwark of freedom, independence, and of national fame and glory; and as much as we may desire to become a great and a powerful people among the nations of the earth, still let us not be deceived in this all-important question of our own liberties.

The idea of a Union that associates vassalage and slavery with it, not freedom, instead of charming, should at once horrify every lover of rational liberty. To be sure, we idolize **POWER**, but do we not idolize **LIBERTY** still more? What independent freemen would not prefer *freedom*, even in the “dens and the caves of the earth,” to kneeling down and worshipping at the footstool of despotic power? Many of our own countrymen, by the cruel oppressions of their fellows, have often been forced from the abodes of human society, to take refuge in the caves and swamps of republican America, secreted days, and working nights for food.

And again I say, let us not be deceived; for whatever interested and ambitious politicians may say to us through a press, which may be prostituted to their own purposes of power and self-aggrandizement over the people, if we would remain a free people, we must forever hold the great constitutional and righteous principles of the freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and the right of pe-

tion, as much more sacred, and as much higher, than even the "Union itself," as the very Heavens (to speak with reverence) are higher than the earth.

I do insist, that in this "*would-be free republic*," the question of Union itself should never be suffered to take the lead of the great safeguard principles of all rational liberty, "the unabridged freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press, and the right of petition." It has certainly been most painful to every consistent lover of rational freedom, that the question, even of "Union," over these very first and only saving principles, has been holding, *comparatively*, too great a prominence in the public mind, by means of an extraneous and a forestalling political influence, which has been altogether inconsistent with the origin and broad principles of all civil liberty.

Union itself, of mere territory, if bound together, not only with *slaveholding or lynching* cords, but with strong bands of iron and steel, would not, of itself, constitute liberty, but *might* constitute the strongest and heaviest bonds of slavery. To act upon such a principle merely, would be like keeping the eye upon the mere superstructure of some splendid and stately edifice, while the pillars upon which it stood, constituting its entire foundation, were rapidly crumbling to the earth from beneath it. How would one appear in such a case, if, while his own *idolatrous* eye was gazing intently with rapture and delight upon the dome itself, his own right hand was hewing down its only foundation, strength, and supports?

But, to unfold, and to sustain these great first principles of rational liberty, is most emphatically the appropriate work of the people; for most public men virtually act upon the doctrine of instruction from their constitu-

ents, and seldom even warn the "dear people" of approaching dangers, if such warning would be likely to obscure their own bright prospects of political preferment. Hence, we must see the absolute necessity of the "*people themselves*" being informed, as well as virtuous, if they would be free. Indeed, any thing short of universal intelligence, as well as virtue, among the people, tends to aristocracy, and ultimately to despotism itself. The people must, and I hope will, think for themselves, and trust to no "*great leader*" to teach them, *or to think for them.*

We may trust our property, when we will, to another, but not our liberties; for they have been purchased at too dear a rate. They are the price of blood; the blood of our fathers and our kindred; too sacred to be bartered away, or credited out, on any mortal security whatever.

My mind, for one, is fully made up, that we have now, and shall continue to have, northern aspiring politicians, of all parties, who, to accomplish their own ambitious purposes, will try to hush the north into silence on the subject of slavery; if the people would listen to the syren song, and believe, until the moment, their own liberties are writhing in the very folds of that same dreadful southern anaconda: indeed, even now, whose life or property is hardly safe from the foul fiend of slavery or his emissaries, when he speaks out boldly, as he ought to speak, on this curse of our country, and scourge to our fellow-man. The very nature of the institution of southern slavery, from the vast advantage it gives the south, on the scale of representation, and from the effect the institution has to unite all the slave States as one

vast state on this subject, (however divided they may be on others,) gives the south already an unreasonable controlling ascendancy over the north. Owing to the institutions of slavery, this great nation has long been rigidly governed by an inconsiderable minority. This certainly will be like a mountain weight upon us, if slavery shall continue to increase. The north, while they have been astonished at it, have not generally fully understood why the south have so long, and do still, exert an influence so preponderating, so tremendous and appalling, in our national councils. The non-slaveholding States have men in the national councils fully equal, if not superior, to the slaveholding States; but what do they avail? The north may rest assured, that just so long as slavery continues with its power that it now holds, just so long it is destined to live virtually under a *slaveholding* President (though with the *mock* name republican;) or rather the north, so long as slavery exists in the nation, is in every sense as really destined to look up to slaveholders for their most gracious condescension, to dictate, by virtue of their HUMAN PROPERTY, to millions of nominal freemen, who shall be their rulers, as the Canadas are, to look to England to send them over governors from the ROYAL FAMILY, against which many Americans have, quite recently, so loudly protested. Let the people but carefully watch the movements of those who so adroitly pull the political wires behind the scene, and they will soon be satisfied of this.

Though I have for years been aware, to some extent, of the insidious windings about us of that dreaded, and dreadful foe to man (slavery,) but not having been in possession of all the statistics of the encroachments of

this monster upon our liberties, never had I supposed that he had already so entirely enfolded us in his hideous coils, as the mid-day sun of truth, which recently shone so brightly in the Senate chamber of the United States, so clearly discovered to us, from that able and patriotic senator, Mr. Davis, from Massachusetts, (a State always first in the cause of liberty,) while so manfully opposing the passage of the great nullifier's subtle and ominous nullification, slavery, and Texas resolutions. The extract itself which follows, from that valuable speech against the passage of resolutions so disgraceful and degrading to a free people, even more than sustains all the opinions I have ever advanced in relation to our servile dependence upon slaveholding power.

“I ask,” says Mr. Davis, “whether the great slave interest is to dissolve the Union? I appeal again to your recollections, and to those of the senator from South Carolina, (Calhoun,) and ask you whether an interest so powerful as to have majorities in both houses, and to maintain its ascendancy in the government, is likely to have occasion to secede from the Union through fear or oppression? Sir, this interest (slavery) has ruled the destinies of the republic. For FORTY out of FORTY-EIGHT years, it has given us a President from its own territory and of its own selection. I do not advert to this in the tone of complaint, for it has been done at the ballot-box; but as a proof of its great strength, tact, and skill, and of the extraordinary predominance it holds over all other interests, *bending and shaping* them to its *purposes*. During all this time, it has not only had a President sustaining its own peculiar views of public policy, but through him, has held and

used, in its own way, the whole organization of all the departments, and all the vast and controlling patronage incident to that office, to aid it in carrying on its views and policy, as well as to protect and secure to it every advantage.

“Let us explore a little further, sir,” says this statesman, standing on the elevated and constitutional rights of American citizens, “and see how the houses of Congress have been organized. For **THIRTY** years out of **THIRTY-SIX YEARS**, that interest (slavery) has placed its own speaker in the chair of the other house, thus securing the organization of committees, and the *great influence* of that station. And, sir, while all other interests have, during part of the time, had the chair in which you preside assigned to them, as an equivalent *for these great concessions*; yet, in each year, when a President *pro tem.* is elected, who, upon the contingencies mentioned in the constitution, will be the President of the United States, that interest (slavery) **HAS INVARIABLY GIVEN US THAT OFFICER!!!** Look, I beseech you,” continues this able and faithful senator, “through all the places of honour, of profit, and privilege; and there you will find the representatives of this interest (slavery) in numbers that indicate its influence. Does not, then, this interest (slavery) hold the destinies of this republic in its own hands? Does it (slavery) not rule, guide, and adapt public policy to its own views, and fit it to suit the action and products of its own labour? Sir, I know that the politicians of the slave country sometimes disagree about men, and measures, of **MINOR CONSIDERATION**; but on the **GREAT INTEREST** of **SLAVE LABOUR**, and the protection of slave property,

they stand *firmly* together, and, like the MACEDONIAN PHALANX, shoulder to shoulder, gather around it (slavery), and, by mighty and concerted efforts, give it (slavery) the lead in public affairs against all opposition. Sir, how can I better explain *its all-pervading influence* than to declare again that it (slavery) moves this government of fifteen millions of souls, great and energetic as it is, and disproportionate as is the slaveholding population to that of the free states?

“ With this mighty power in your hands, with proof at *every vote taken in this capital* of your ability to continue it, can you of this interest entertain apprehensions for your safety? What more do you *claim*? What more can you *have*? *How can those who hold power be oppressed by those who have none*? How can those who hold the powers of this government, fear it? I cannot believe there is occasion in the mind of any one belonging to this interest (slavery) for the dissolution of the Union, unless he be *ambitious, unprincipled, and without hope of advancement!!* It will be reasonable enough to meet danger from other quarters when it threatens mischief.

“ But, Mr. President, I must not omit some other proofs of the towering magnitude of the slave interest here. It claims to itself whatever of merit there is in the *overthrow of the policy of internal improvements*, and of having broken down and rendered unpopular the policy of so assessing and collecting the revenue as to *protect and encourage free labour*. Over this last great interest, it (slavery) *claims a signal triumph for having defeated it*. I need not multiply proofs of the zeal, activity, and singular success of those who have managed

this interest, (slavery.) *The integrity of the Union is, probably, quite as important to the slave territory, as to the free.* I cannot, therefore," said this distinguished senator, "credit the suggestion that the people of the south are so *blinded to their interests* as to court so calamitous a result. What then is it that shakes this great republic, so that it reels upon its foundation; so that we are brought to a solemn pause here in the public business, and are gravely and solemnly devising measures to redeem us from threatened ruin? Sir," continues this senator, "we have a set of resolutions, nearly connected, that are to go forth with healing power to calm the public mind, to allay 'the outbreaks of fanaticism,' and to tranquillize the raging elements. The *opinion* of the majority of the senate is to work out this extraordinary result. But I again ask, what it is that we are thus contending with? What that threatens calamity, and is thus *easily subdued*? It is the abolitionists, that come here in no very alarming numbers, *though the course pursued here has greatly increased the aggregate*, not to threaten the government or to *menace* the Union,—no, sir, not at all; but humbly to entreat and pray you to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, where, I believe, there are about 45,000 people of colour.

"Sir, they have claimed nothing, but the right to *pray* and *beg* of the senate to use its power for this purpose. What more humble and less objectionable right can be claimed by man, than the right of respectfully entreating? Yet, sir, the exercise of this poor privilege has brought us into grave deliberation, to rescue the Union from impending dissolution. Sir, I can-

not participate in these fears, nor persuade myself that such causes will produce such results, or that the Union will be attacked, *unless the provocation is given here.*

“But, sir, what is to be hoped from these resolutions? What are their healing properties, their power to assuage resentments, and to allay irritated passions? Are these resolutions agitating the matter to any useful purpose? I read them,” said this senator; “and while a part of them seemed to me to contain certain doctrines on the subject of slavery according with the sentiments of the *mover*, the residue seemed to be a mere avowal of a *political creed*. Nor being quite certain that I was right in the matter, I was *comforted* when my friend from Delaware (Mr. Bayard) rose. They professed to treat of abolition; but the worthy senator declared that, on lifting the veil, he had discovered ‘nullification’ under the first of the series. He pointed the little fellow out to us, hidden snugly under a thin covering of ‘*State right gauze*.’”

This senator has here made a sober, but to every intelligent and consistent lover of liberty, a most fearfully startling exhibition of facts, in relation to the tremendous and preponderating power of the slaveholding interest in this nation, both south and north, and of its constantly increasing aggression upon all our liberties. In a plain view of facts so astounding, in addition to a long dark catalogue of others of a like character, and many of a still deeper hue which might be adduced, and fairly chargeable upon slavery; how can *any American citizen*, and more especially in the States called free, even if he care nothing for the liberation of two and a half millions of his enslaved countrymen, ever again have the

confidence to hold up his head and speak tauntingly of the abject dependence of distant colonies of Great Britain, or the servile dependence of any other colonies upon their royal head at home!

Let no independent American citizen indulge the degrading and dangerous thought for a moment, that these are grave matters not to be spoken of. Shall it, indeed, be said, that an "independent and sovereign people," shall not dare to know their true political as well as their moral condition? Let such an idea be scouted from a land of democratic freemen, to its own hiding place, underneath the footstool of despotic power; but let us, Americans, ever bear in mind, that a free government can be maintained in no other way than by the unabridged and free exercise of all our inalienable rights, and that these Heaven-descended rights consist in one man having the same, and as perfect a right to speak *against each and every* existing law of his country, or even against the whole constitution of his government if he please, as another man has to speak in *favour* of them all; "meanwhile," holding ourselves amenable to constitutional law *only* for any abuse of our rights. A sound writer and an able statesman remarks, "that the cause of freedom of speech, is the cause of universal man." "Leave *this*," said he, "and take what *else* you will *away*, and all else *left* is but a *splendid mockery*." Another able writer, speaking prospectively: "should the right of speech in our country ever be taken away," says, the historian would record our doom thus: "Here rose the noblest and freest empire ever reared by man. Based upon principles that *were* to regenerate the earth, and having poured out his own best blood like water in vin-

dication of the rights of man, it strangely became the persecutor of *speech*, and the enslaver of *opinion*—it threw itself across the orbit of human destiny, and eternal providence, and the mighty vision faded from the world.”

All who like the slavery of the coloured people, and are also acting in a way to prepare UNCOLOURED people for abject vassallage, will of course delight in this our servile dependence, and still cry peace! peace! do’nt go too fast.

The captivating pretext for all this, will be to preserve our “glorious Union.”

But be not deceived; — who would exchange the MEAT of the cocoa for the *mere shell*?

And while it is our inalienable moral right, and our high moral duty, loudly to testify against all wrongs and oppressions, wherever they are known on the face of the earth, still the world will cry out with one voice, “it does not become that *dark slaveholding America* to throw stones at her neighbours too hard, while she is so grossly exposed through her glass house, to the eyes of all mankind.”

What high-minded, well-informed, and reflecting American, must not feel humbled under this view, that his country has indeed been imbibing a deadly poison into her whole constitution, which is rapidly undermining her constitution, and paralyzing her arm in the cause of civil liberty, throughout the earth?

With regard to “going too fast” in the righteous cause of holy freedom, we will adduce a case for consideration a moment, and see how it looks. We will suppose some of our own dearest friends had been kid-

snapped, and were now in cruel bondage ; should we think that people, (men, women, or children,) in the country where they were thus enslaved, could well go too fast, in creating a just, and an uncompromising public sentiment in favour of their immediate unconditional liberation ? Would not this be a just, and a righteous doctrine for them to inculcate ?

The principles and proceedings of abolitionists, have been greatly misapprehended, and as often most slanderously and meanly misrepresented, after they were understood.

Anti-abolitionists sometimes with their own favourite projects (political or pecuniary) in view, have frequently represented abolitionists, as a set of "base, weak, fanatical, and incendiary men, trampling on all the laws, and desecrating the constitution of the land, aiming to excite the slaves to insurrection, and to wrest them by violence from the iron grasp of their masters."

Now, nothing could be more foreign to the truth ; and I trust that American history, will yet show abolitionists to have been greater adherents, and more consistent friends to the constitution, and the laws of their country, and to all their countrymen, than any other class of American citizens.

And I trust it will also be seen, that they were SANE men ; that they judged correctly, (notwithstanding the darkness and the clouds lowering about them,) of the virtue of the American people, and of the amount of moral influence, in the nation which might be brought successfully to bear against the great sin, as well as dangerous and threatening political evil of slavery in the land.

But if the cause of freedom be destined to be crushed by despotic slaveholding power, and slavery and despotism to triumph forever over this land, it will still be recorded on the annals of all time, that the abolitionists were the true and genuine friends of freedom in America, but that they judged too favourably of the amount of moral power and virtue among the people, for this, with the blessing of Heaven, their only reliance; as in *other* countries, would forever sweep SLAVERY from *ours*.

How much soever some may dislike the degrading vassalage to the slaveholding power of the south, there can be no alternative, while slavery shall continue.

Read the anxiety and management of the south, still to increase her already alarming slaveholding power. I will here insert two southern resolutions, for the benefit of any who may yet be incredulous on the subject, that southern politicians, at least, are actually not only in favour of PERPETUALLY ENSLAVING the coloured people, but that they are also determined, if possible, to enslave the uncoloured of the north, by the annexation of Texas to the Union, (as soon as they can catch the north napping,) as a vast slave-country, and then make their horrid institution of slavery, a most fearful and bloody engine of political power, to control the destinies of millions, now called freemen, with its despotic iron rod. This rod of despotism, has just been menacingly shook over the northern people, by way of senatorial, slaveholding, nullification, "gag-law" resolutions.

The two resolutions, first alluded to, among many which might be given, were recently adopted by an extra session of the Mississippi Legislature, on the sub-

ject of the admission of Texas into the Union, as a slave State.

“Resolved, That the annexation of Texas to this Republic, is essential to the future safety and repose of the southern States of this Confederacy.”

“Again resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to use their best endeavours to procure the annexation of Texas to the United States, as early as possible.”

If the people shall faithfully continue to flood Congress with petitions against the annexation of Texas, “read, or unread,” *political men*, from *political policy*, may hold off the subject.

And again, whoever thinks the slaves could not take care of themselves, or that the slaveholders are very anxious to emancipate them as soon as “expedient,” (as they say,) let them listen impartially to what the same Legislature have said to their constituents without one dissenting voice, on the importance for the south to annex Texas to the Union, in order to perpetuate their so much beloved institution of slavery, time without end, to themselves and their posterity, and they will be undeceived.

The frank admission of how much slavery has done for them, and how much they love it, is to be found in a small portion of their famous and laboured address, showing how indispensable Texas is to the south to sustain *slavery*, or as they say, in softer language, “system” or “peculiar institution,” and reads as follows, to wit: “The committee feel authorized to say, that this system (slavery) is cherished by our constituents as the very PALLADIUM of their prosperity and happiness; and what-

ever "ignorant fanatics" may elsewhere conjecture, the committee are fully assured, upon the most diligent observation and reflection on the subject, that the south does not possess within her limits a blessing with which *the affections of her people are so closely entwined and so completely enfibred, and whose value is more highly appreciated, than that which we are now considering, (to wit, slavery.)* Under the influence of this system, (slavery,) the rich forests of the south, and south-west, have given way to the cultivated fields, teeming with the richest products of agriculture. Villages, towns, and cities, have sprung up as if by magic.

The arts and sciences have been made to flourish where the *barbarian* would alone have been heard to resound, or where savage beasts of prey would yet find a quiet asylum. To this system (slavery) we owe more than we can well estimate of *domestic comfort and social happiness!* To it (slavery) we are chiefly indebted for the *lofty spirit of liberty* which so eminently distinguished the *proud and high-minded inhabitants of this region!* "To this system (slavery) the happiness of the *white man* has been augmented beyond calculation." Here endeth this part of the chapter! Now, the foregoing sentiments, couched in the peculiar phraseology, "*a lofty spirit of liberty,*" "*proud and high-minded inhabitants,*" having been produced by slavery, however great the appearance of the solecism, still, on reflection, produces the conviction as being in sentiment remarkably analogous; for who doubts, for instance, that infidelity, if it could produce any sentiments at all about *Christianity*, that they would be both "*proud and lofty ones?*" This kind of proud and lofty republicanism

which the Mississippi "gentlemen" of their State Legislature, say, is immediately and alone produced by their system of slavery, is only of the same character of the slaveholder's republicanism generally, that is, "that slavery is the best basis of freedom," and is about as consistent as that which a gentleman witnessed, practically carried out, not long since, in Alabama, on the occasion of the celebration of American independence, when a slave was made to carry the banners of freedom, (being too hard labour, I suppose, for the delicate hands of slaveholding gentlemen,) on which was inscribed in blazing capitals, "*Where liberty is, there is my country.*"

It is certainly worthy of notice, that whenever southern men have occasion to speak of the horrid and revolting business of slaveholding, (as if conscious of guilt,) by an ingenious tact, avoid the use of the word "slavery," and couch it in soft and smooth terms, such as "system," peculiar or domestic institution, &c. Sometimes also, they attempt to dignify it by calling it the "*patriarchal institution.*" I do not wonder at all this, for doubtless, that dreadful term *slavery*, alias "*man-stealing*," grates very harshly even upon their *own ears*, and sometimes, perhaps, even upon their *consciences*, if not entirely callous and "*seared as with a hot iron.*"

And again, here is a precious little extract from a late leading southern paper. A delicious treat for northern pro-slavery ears no doubt.

"The policy of the south is not to produce agitation and controversy (or in other words, to tolerate the freedom of speech and the press,) about this matter, (Texas,) but *so to manage it* that northern members of Congress may take their seats unshackled by instruction."

This kind of *secrecy* is *rank and dark aristocracy*, or *slaveholding despotism* !

It may here be asked, did not our venerable fathers suffer the institution of slavery to enter into the federal compact? My opinion is decidedly in the affirmative; though a stranger to the history of our government might hold up the *high and broad* principles of freedom which run throughout our constitution, in immediate connexion with those contained in the *declaration of our independence*, and never *dream* of such a thing.

I cheerfully make this admission, because I desire to base every argument, and every deduction, upon nothing but truth; but as theologians universally admit that no one can understand the strict import of every passage in the Bible, without a familiar knowledge of the history of the times in which the inspired volume was penned; so it is with this and all similar questions. And as I have before alluded to the history of the times antecedent to, and at the time of the adoption of the constitution; and also to the tone and spirit in the convention on the subject of slavery, to show that it was most clearly the universal expectation, and, as all might then have well supposed, the *well grounded confidence* that slavery had indeed received its death-blow, and would soon "*die of consumption*," (as was the expression of a member of the convention.)")

Suffice it here to say again, that the *forfeited plighted faith* is altogether on the part of those States which, instead of going home from the convention, according to express understanding, and going to work to give all their fellow-men their freedom, as the northern members did, they went home, and in the place of rearing *cattle*,

have ever since been rearing MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN, by thousands and tens of thousands, as articles of commerce for exportation.

If we are permitted to judge at all from the sentiments on record, in relation to this subject, of the worthy men composing that convention, we might well imagine their grief and amazement, should they rise from their tombs, and instead of a land of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, for which they had struggled hard seven years, behold a land almost of UNIVERSAL SLAVERY.

Though the spirit and the general sentiments of the constitution would seem most clearly to condemn slavery in every form, yet there can be no doubt but that the convention intended to tolerate the *holding* of slaves in the *States merely*, by their fixing the slave representation. But they went even thus far, after forty days debate, in a blind indirect manner, and with *great reluctance*, evidently feeling conscious that there was a wrong about it; still they unquestionably did what they *thought* was best under all the circumstances, from the universal expression that all slavery would speedily be banished from the whole beloved land for whose universal freedom they had so long toiled.

And if, in going no farther than this, in compromising human liberty, *under these peculiar circumstances of HOPE*, they clearly did it with *compunctions*, and with extreme *reluctance*, who can dare cast the odium upon their sacred memories, *against the clearest possible testimony to the contrary*, that they meant to provide, as some pretend, for slavery to exist forever in this land, by giving slaveholders, in any possible way, the power to enslave the people during their pleasure, at the very seat of go-

vernment, in all the territories of the United States; and to sell them in *droves by thousands* from one end of the Union to the other? Not a syllable of even an intimation of any of these things can be found on record. Congress has an unquestionable right at once to stop them all forever. *And this clear constitutional right it is also under the highest possible moral and political obligation to exercise without delay, in behalf of the great cause of human liberty, in relation to our own country, and the world.*

How strangely would some of our southern demagogues, in their "stump speeches" years gone by, when courting the favour of the "*plebeians*," compare with their ARISTOCRATIC doctrine when defending the DIVINE RIGHT of slavery, on the ground that the rich have a right to own, and to buy and sell the poor like cattle in the market, in order to carry out the CALHOUN doctrine that "*slavery is the best basis of freedom.*"

For instance, the following are some of the wholesome republican and abolition sentiments, uttered by the same man, in an *honest and good-natured moment*, in Congress in 1833, for the "*dear people*" to read, about the time he had his eye upon the Presidential chair, viz. "*He who earns the money, who digs it out of the earth by the sweat of his brow, has a just title to it, against the universe. No one has a right to touch it without his consent,*" says this good republican at this particular time, "*except his government, and that only to the extent of its legitimate wants. To take more is ROBBERY.*" Good enough "*abolitionism*" this, if men would but practise what they preach.

And the great object of abolitionists is, to induce both

the north and the *south* if possible, to put in practice the good theory which they have all preached for more than two centuries, viz., that the poor slave, like all men, ought to have his liberty and his hard earnings, which is but the just reward of the "sweat of his brow."

While we have *preached* this NOBLE DOCTRINE to the world, and, as it were, kept it to the ear of the poor slave, we have broken it to his hope, and conclusively proved that, as a nation, we have not really meant what we have said; for, in the mean time, we have added SEVEN NEW SLAVE STATES, as so many markets for the sale and the perpetual enslavement of these same oppressed MEN and WOMEN, whose enslaved and wretched condition we have ever been saying we greatly deplored, and whose sufferings we deeply commiserated.

What must an impartial world think of us, who have witnessed all along how much at variance have been our "preaching and our practice" on this subject of human liberty? Nay, more; what will the "God of the oppressed" think of us, who cannot be mocked with impunity, and who will by no means clear the guilty?

SECTION XIX.

“I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE I HAVE BEEN AT THE SOUTH, AND I NEVER WAS TREATED WITH GREATER KINDNESS AND HOSPITALITY; AND THE MASTERS ALSO TREATED ‘THEIR SERVANTS’ KINDLY, AND THEY APPEARED BRISK AND HAPPY.”

Now, I doubt not, many northern people visiting their friends at the south, have been duped and converted over to favour and to apologize for the untold oppressions of slavery in this way!! Wonder some of these *northern visitors*, who may not be blessed with all the good things of this life, do not at once sell themselves, and their posterity forever after them, to some “*very kind master*,” as they might make their selection out of the whole south and southwest, a vast extent of territory, consisting of twelve large slave States. Even this poor privilege, of selecting favourite masters, is always denied the poor slave; but he is often sold from bad masters to worse ones, by way of malignant punishment. The doctrine which we sometimes hear, that “we should ever praise the bridge that carries us safe over,” is often unsafe, and sometimes proves very pernicious and dangerous to ourselves and to others.

In many instances, it may be great wickedness and gross deception to commend a man’s whole character,

because, forsooth, he may have treated us *politely*, and never to our knowledge injured *us*. We might, in this way, become the disciples and advocates even of known robbers and pirates, for even *they* are often polite and liberal to their friends, for obvious reasons!!

And again, the difference between the selected mulatto domestic servants, (which northern visitors mostly see,) both in their appearance and the manner in which they are treated, bears about the same relation to the appearance and treatment of their "ever delving and ever whipped slaves," on their plantations, that our pet horses at the north, selected by gentlemen out of the whole country, at high prices, — kept in the finest condition to appear in public occasionally, richly caparisoned, to minister to the pride or the pleasure of their owners, — do to the horses that are worn down by overworking and underfeeding, constantly doing the hardest & odgery of the industrious and laborious farmer and the drayman.

Were it necessary here, I might go on to detail at length the vastly different treatment which the house-servants in general receive, and especially in the presence of northern visitors, than do the poor field slaves, who are ever under the bloody and dreaded lash of their heartless and reckless drivers. I may have occasion to say something of this hereafter.

SECTION XX.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THERE ARE A GREAT MANY AMIABLE AND HIGHLY RESPECTABLE SLAVEHOLDERS, AMONG WHOM ARE MANY DISTINGUISHED MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL, AND OTHER DEVOTED AND PIOUS CHRISTIANS."

NOT long since I read what some might call, in "homely phrase," a kind of "milk and water" treatise, on the subject of slavery.* The author appeared to be a man who had lived some time at the south, and who still had *numerous connexions residing there, most of whom were slaveholders!!*

He evidently intended the work for an *anti-slavery* one, but it was certainly to my mind a curiously compounded concern of *anti* and *pro-slavery* sentiments!! His heart might have been right in ABHORRING SLAVERY. But if so, he surely lacked the nerve and the moral courage to speak out boldly (but kindly) as he ought to speak on the subject. He seemed alternately *advancing and retreating, sinning and repenting throughout his whole work!!* The peculiarly outrageous and cruel slaveholder seemed to be the principal object of all his faithful and pointed remarks. But as to the "*kind and respectable*" slaveholders (which he would fain make out

* I do not say this in derogation to the *ability* of the author.

that most of them were so) they were merely pitied and apologized for, and frequently *highly complimented*!! We should indeed *pity* even pirates who might be in danger every moment of being massacred by the victims of their own bloody cruelty. But what should we all think of any man who should manifest no other feeling than that of pity towards a band of pirates whom he had just witnessed massacre or capture an innocent ship's crew? This professed opposer to slavery more than once intimated, that should all the slaveholders treat their slaves as these "*kind and respectable slaveholders*" did, he was not certain that he should oppose slavery at all even in the "abstract." Now if this principle be correct, I do not see but men of exemplary moral character externally are a *highly privileged order of beings*; so much so, that they may seize upon any one and compel him and all his posterity to work forever for them for nothing; provided always, however, that they shall treat their victims "*kindly*" in other respects. Now if we could see one advocating this kind of doctrine in earnest, who could sympathize much to see him made the first subject of its experiment! Yet all this is nothing but American slavery with all its drapery torn off, and its "cloven foot" exposed to view in all its naked deformity. Now I am fully prepared to say, and I hope with all due regard to virtue and religion and every good quality in man, that these same *amiable and respectable slaveholders, however pious and good their intentions perchance may be*, are nevertheless the very pillars of the whole accursed legalized system of robbery and man-stealing which has already so much disgraced and corrupted our nation; for take these away, and leave none but the

most cruel, openly abandoned, immoral, and outrageous ones in the business, the *eyes* and the *hearts* of the people would then be opened to all the horrors of slavery, and the whole country with one accord, both north and south, nay, the whole world would at once cry out "the rod of the oppressor *must* be broken, and the captives *shall* go free." The *people* then would no longer apologize for the oppressor, nor "*choose, nor advocate any of his ways.*"

The character of the "*kind, the 'good,' the amiable and the pious*" slaveholder apologizes for slavery, and tends to cast a *shade of respectability* over all its CRUELITIES AND ABOMINATIONS, which now makes it barely sufferable in the world. This would be so in relation to any *system of wickedness among men which can possibly be conceived of!* For illustration, should all the dealers and tipplers in all intoxicating drinks in some town or city (whom we will now suppose at least able to attend to their business most of the time,) at once become notorious DRUNKARDS about the streets, rapidly ruining themselves and their families; like an earthquake, it would shock and alarm the whole community for its common safety; and would probably "*instantly*" fully convert them all over into "*simon pure*" cold water folks, and perhaps *total* "*abolitionists*" for the whole liquid traffic, which threatened so speedily their entire destruction. The gilded drapery of respectability would thus be blown aside, and they would then have ocular demonstration from the uncovered sepulchre of pollution, that an evil so overwhelming from the necessity of the case could no longer be borne. They would all be terrified at feeling the very fabric of society trembling and giving way from under them.

How true it is, "*that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.*" It has always been the case in the world, that when any system of business was becoming unpopular, that its friends would of course labour to direct the public eye to its most respectable patrons and advocates. We all know this was remarkably the case when the respectability of "*rum-selling and rum-drinking*" was on the wane. It is the same now in relation to **SLAVERY**.

At the time also when the business of vending **LOTTERY TICKETS** was becoming unpopular in this state, how common it was for venders of tickets to present the clergy with a ticket now and then, accompanied with their *compliments*, "*hoping it would draw a good prize.*" All this was natural enough. It is also natural enough to judge whether in most cases it was done to support the clergy with a desire thereby to sustain the gospel, or to seal up their mouths in the pulpit against the business which began to be talked of as a *species of gambling*. The mouths of more clergymen than one in this nation, and even northern ones too, are thus sealed up by the bribery of slavery in a way which some of them little think of. Which act of *wickedness* and *hypocrisy* would God probably look upon with the greater abhorrence and more righteous indignation ; for a **Missionary Society** to receive a package of *lottery tickets*, and to add the avails to its funds, or to receive the *pious donation* of an affectionate **WIFE, AND MOTHER**, torn from the tender embraces of her **HUSBAND AND CHILDREN** in the **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** by some *gracious hand*, and by the same *sainted being*, if not in person, yet by proxy, whipped all the way into the State of Mississippi, or Ala-

bama, and there sold for the *benefit of said society*, with her posterity forever after her into endless slavery, where it would be death for any living being to teach her and her posterity even to read the alphabet, by which they might *spell out the way of life and salvation?*

What adds to the "blackness of darkness," of a deed so foul, is, that the avails of all this violent destruction of human liberty, and human happiness, is to be sanctimoniously applied to the purpose of converting the "poor heathen," to the suspicious religion of a dark slaveholding nation.

But let me not be understood, as denominating the blessed and benevolent *Christian religion in its purity*, a slaveholding religion, for judgements from on high, will doubtless yet fall upon this nation, if this our Heaven-daring reproach, be not unfeignedly repented of, and put away from us forever. We have long enough as a nation, grieved the God of the oppressed, and insulted the Majesty of Heaven and earth, by enslaving and oppressing his poor.

It certainly would seem to require a great amount of self-confidence, for any minister of the gospel to bear up, under the manifest inconsistency, and great absurdity (which every child sees and feels,) of praying much publicly, for the poor heathen abroad, but none at all for the millions of the poor heathen at home, worse off, if possible, than the poor heathen abroad. When we do the one, let us not leave the other undone.

Even the veriest infidel, let his sentiments about religion, or about abolition, be what they may, sees the totally irreconcilable inconsistency of all this. Were it morally possible for an unbeliever, to be converted to

any kind of christianity, under such prayers, it would most likely be to a "*slaveholding*" christianity. And with all the light on the subject of slavery, now blazing upon us, to say the least, its *genuineness* would be of a very doubtful character.

However unkindly any reader may receive these plainly expressed views, I am still constrained to say, they are my irresistible convictions, which I must soon expect to meet at the judgement.

SECTION XXI.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THERE ARE HUNDREDS OF 'GOOD' SLAVEHOLDERS, WHO WOULD GLADLY EMANCIPATE THEIR SLAVES AT ONCE, IF THEIR LAWS WOULD ALLOW THEM TO DO SO."

THIS is another very plausible, but kindred apology, with many others, for the indefinite, or rather endless continuance of slavery. Let us together, carefully examine this also, and see to what all this too, amounts.

Grant that the slaveholders, for fear, in an unguarded moment, their hearts might relent, to let the bondman go free, have bound themselves up, by the most wicked, and penal enactments, not to do so; it only reminds us of the interrogatory language of the Psalmist, addressed to the Almighty, on a similar occasion. "*Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?*"

Is not the same power which enacts a wicked law justly held accountable for its immediate abrogation?

And does not the anecdote of the little girl, which is sometimes told on this occasion, properly apply in this case? viz. A mother directed a little girl in her absence to do up the work about house. On the mother's return, the work was still undone, and the little girl's ex-

cuse was, that she had been tied up to the table leg. Tied up to the table leg, says the astonished mother ! Who tied you up, my dear ? O, I tied myself up.

But, says one, this is not exactly a parallel case, for though these good slaveholders, at the south, who are so very anxious to emancipate their slaves, without delay, and cannot do it, on account of the law, did once, it is true, tie themselves up, but now they are very sorry for it ; and though they say the Bible commanded them to tie this knot, because slavery is a " patriarchal institution," " and the best basis of freedom," yet they are trying with all their might, to untie it, but find they have tied it so hard, that they are utterly unable to do it.

Now admit all this to be the case, that all these *good men*, are extremely sorry, they thus tied themselves up, as the Lord commanded them to do, and that they have tried every possible way to disobey God, and give their slaves their freedom, even to the ordering of their " nigger " drivers, to drive them to CANADA, where all human shackles and manacles, for " no crime in man," are forever knocked off ; what I would say, is, if these good slaveholders, who would gladly without delay, give their slaves their liberty, and have tried every possible " expedient " to effect it, but that such is the rigour of their own made laws, that they can in no wise do it ; one of two things, as the natural consequence most clearly follows, viz. either that these " good slaveholders," (who would, as they say, do right,) should at once *do right*, and no longer impiously charge their iniquity upon God, but at once repeal, or totally disregard such Heaven-daring laws, and do as God plainly commands all to do, without an exception of name or circumstance,

or man-serving, and "God-provoking" "expedients," without further cavil or delay, to undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free, and trust in the God of the oppressed, for the consequence of simply obeying him; or, that the whole people both north and south, who disapprove of such wicked, and high-handed oppression, and slavery laws, for both black and white, should at once rise en masse, and open their mouths boldly, and testify against it, and give the oppressor no peace until he will break the yoke, and let the oppressed go free.

The north should do it of course, for they have voted with the south for the admission of slave States, with these same constitutions.

For men, thus deliberately, to bind themselves up forever, by such horrid laws, does it not look like swearing eternal allegiance to the "*grim demon of darkness*;" for should spirits from the abodes of purity, be permitted to behold such a state of things, would they not conclude it must be the "*infernal regions*?"

Can we not see, moreover, from such unrighteous laws, let who may enact them, how deadly hostile the very nature and genius of SLAVERY is, to LIBERTY? It seems to act upon that most miserly principle, of the old adage, of "keeping what it's got, and getting what it can."

Suppose for example, that we find ourselves in a country, where the laws actually compel us to rob and to steal, should we not at once disregard such laws, or leave such a country forever?

Surely robbing our fellow-men by law, not only of all they can be made to earn by the sweat of their brow,

under the bloody lash of the cruel task-master, but of their wives and children also, and then stealing the men themselves, "*from themselves,*" must of all others conceivable, by many degrees, be the basest kind of robbery and theft.

SECTION XXII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE A GREAT MANY PEOPLE AT THE NORTH, DON'T TREAT THEIR OWN DOMESTICS AS THEY OUGHT."

THIS all may be true, and when so, is sincerely to be regretted, and should at once, be repented of and corrected, by the good sense, and the good principles of community, just as slavery should be in the nation.

But nevertheless, the objection amounts to just this, and nothing more,—that, because we may have some dogs in the land which will now and then "bite folks," we should not therefore kill or cage up the lions and the tigers, that are destroying the people by hundreds or by thousands. This same class of objections was once urged against the friends of temperance; that, because they were not perfectly temperate in all things, therefore the objector would not be found in their "society," neither must the "cold-water folks" say a word against the "drunkards and the sots," who were rapidly ruining themselves and their families, and were a pest in community. Time, however, next to eternity, that great "revealer of secrets," has already developed the insincerity and the motives of this peculiar objector to temperance; for the moment the standard of temperance was raised according to this same objector's own

prescription, forgetting what he had been saying and doing, he was the very first man (with some noble exceptions) to exclaim, "ultraism — too fast, too fast!!!"

These examples are adduced as *illustrative* merely. Men, to our vision, are always too fast, or too slow, in any cause to which we stand opposed. In a land of serpents, how would a man appear should he take an immovable stand, that, because the "serpent killers" would not first hunt up and kill off all the more harmless ones without an exception, therefore, if all the people in the land should be bitten by RATTLESNAKES, he would not lift his finger to help kill one of them.

We find objections precisely of this character often made, even to becoming CHRISTIANS. "I ought to be a Christian," says one, "and *intend* to be; but there is Mr. A., or Deacon B., one of *your great professors*, who often does so and so, and whom, I believe, will go to *destruction*;" and therefore, (the English is,) "I am determined to do so and so likewise, and be his company."

I have adverted the more freely to all these familiar and stereotyped illustrations to all temperance people, for the reason that I think every consistent temperance man, like a "Delavan," (who has recently nobly taken his stand in the anti-slavery ranks,) by the like process and dictate of common sense, will also speedily be an anti-slavery man. These, and the like objections, most clearly indicate very great *self-righteousness* in the objector; that is, in plain interpretation, "Stand by, for I am holier than thou, and will not be found in your society." But the light of truth, if not smothered and darkened by the hand of tyranny; like the morning sun

upon the dew, will soon scatter all these objections to the four winds.

We freely admit all these encroachments upon others' rights, and all kinds of oppression, at the north, or in any part of the world, to be wrong, and should at once cease; but when we see men who dwell exclusively upon these things, and seem not to know, that, as a nation, we have deprived two and a half millions of men, women, and children of all their rights, and are crushing them to the very earth under our feet; does it not remind us of the priest and Levitish religion, of "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel?"

SECTION XXIII.

I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE OUR GREATEST STATESMEN AND OUR GREATEST DIVINES ARE OPPOSED TO ITS DISCUSSION, AND THEY OUGHT TO KNOW BEST; AND THAT IT IS ONLY A FEW FANATICS, AND 'WEAK-MINDED MEN AND WOMEN,' WHO ARE IN FAVOUR OF DISCUSSING IT."

Be it so, if you please. It was recorded on a certain occasion, as a kind of check upon undue confidence in man, "that great men are not always wise; and that neither do the aged *always* understand judgement." Job xxxii. 9. We also read upon the pages of divine truth, (Isaiah lx. 22,) these words, which should also tend to check our vain presumption in *making flesh our arm*: "A little one shall chase a thousand, and a small one a strong nation; I the Lord will hasten it in his time." And we read also: "but many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first." And again: "Jesus saith unto them; did ye never read in the Scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

The Supreme Ruler of the universe unquestionably overrules the affairs both of Church and of State in this world, and will yet bring order out of seeming confusion, and strength out of apparent weakness; but whether in mercy or in judgement to this guilty nation, it is

not for mortal man to say. And has he not also said, that he would take "the weak things of the world to confound the mighty?" Did he not most emphatically do this for our fathers, when he "caused *one* to chase a *thousand*, and *two* to put *ten thousand* to flight?"

I suppose, in consequence of the wonders that he wrought in accomplishing our independence through our leader, that the GOD OF WASHINGTON has been as much more honoured by the nations of the earth as was the GOD OF DANIEL!! No doubt, too, that the name of Israel's God was more venerated in the eyes of all the Philistines, when he took up little David and killed the great Goliath, than 'hough he had killed him with a stronger man than he. I know very well that "worldly wise men," in their own vainglorious conceits, impiously sneer at all this, even such men as call slavery the "best basis of freedom;" but they not only show their impiety in so doing, but their ignorance, too, of past events, both sacred and profane. Probably God knows better how to glorify his own name than great statesmen or great divines do, *however wise and prophetic some may even claim to be!!*

Politicians themselves, moreover, independent of the admission of the interposition of divine power, have still ever been compelled to admit that the honesty and virtue requisite to effect any great and valuable reform in all ages have been found alone (with here and there a splendid exception,) in the common walks of life. Here are found the men as a general principle who constitute the main hope against aristocracy, monarchy and despotism in the world; and against the doctrine that "slavery is the best basis of freedom;" and if they

fail to be at their posts with their lamps trimmed and burning and oil in their lamps ; or in other language, if applied politically, if they fail to be intelligent, virtuous, and vigilant, we must of course forever despair of maintaining a free government by the people, and tyrants will subvert our liberties. Whenever this has not been the case in any country, first, anarchy and misrule, and ultimately despotism has ensued, as one of the most natural results in the usual train of human events. The whole is seen at one entire view "in means adapted to an end." And who that has common observation must not but see the baneful influence of the rich and powerful as a general thing (though some noble and brilliant exceptions are most cheerfully admitted ;) who seem to be saying to themselves — " My soul, thou hast much goods laid up for thyself for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." It is this very spirit, originated in the pride of colour, learning, rank, and wealth, which is constantly strengthening the *iron bands of slavery* in the world, entirely regardless of colour ; for who cannot see that one possessed of the presumptuous spirit to suppose that he is rich, and increased in goods and power, and hath need of nothing, would not be very likely to *think* much, *feel* much, or *do* much about the emancipation of "niggers?" This characteristic is not only abundantly portrayed in the Scriptures, but one which we see fully exemplified from every day's observation. Like circumstances very naturally produce like sympathies, said a fugitive from American oppression while on his way to Canada for freedom ; I dare not trust myself even with *coloured people, if they have not themselves been slaves.* Hence we see that

not many "*mighty*, and not many *noble*," will take the lead in unpopular causes.

As an encouraging and redeeming principle in the world, it is true however, that *patriotism*, *philanthropy*, and *religion*, do, at times, induce individuals nobly to rise above all these lower and more sordid principles of action. While the north is congratulating itself with northern wealth and northern independence and feeling, that its mountain stands strong, and is tauntingly saying to the so much despised abolitionists — "Why trouble ye yourselves about southern '*niggers*,' ye fanatics, ye agitators, and ye incendiaries?" and is deeply absorbed in the contemplation of schemes how to get rich, and still richer, in goods "that perish with their using;" an Omnipotent arm may bring down our high towers in a way that we think not!! We should certainly think that the unlooked-for and unprecedented shock just felt in the pecuniary and commercial world, would teach us all, "that while we stand, to take heed lest we fall."

While we have been blessed as a nation in religious toleration beyond any other people on earth; and while the wilderness through unnumbered divine, as well as temporal blessings, has been made to "*bud and to blossom as the rose*," still if the *Church* in this land, which has been so highly favoured with all the means of salvation from on high, shall be guilty of the most grievous sin against God, of withholding all these blessings from the millions of bondmen in her very midst, may he not in his righteous displeasure, at a time and in a way of which we little think, speedily deprive us too of that which we are so unrighteously withholding from others of our own countrymen? And for this proud and wicked

contempt of the immortal workmanship of his own hands, in his holy anger may he not leave us to become a distracted, wretched, and desolate people? From the signs of the times, are there not some most fearful indications already of such a terrible approaching judgement, unless as a nation we speedily put away from us the great and crying oppressions of the land? Is it not to be feared that we have been sowing the winds, and may be left to reap the whirlwind." And also, if the great body of the people, either through culpable ignorance, or criminal indolence, shall suffer themselves to be deluded from their true interests by the often unmeaning sounds of the flattering accents "democracy, republican and equal rights," from aspiring and "expedient" politicians of any name, without consistent practical specimens of their sincerity; like other republics gone before us, in the very midst of all these self congratulations, ere we are aware of it, may we too not become a nation of slaves?

SECTION XXIV.

**" I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY,
BECAUSE THE SLAVEHOLDERS WILL DISSOLVE
THE UNION IF WE DISCUSS IT."**

I MIGHT also add to this objection that the slaveholders at the south, with the aid of their servile abettors, and pro-slavery apologists at the north, will take away the *constitutional right of petition, freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press*, from the *people*, if they attempt to discuss slavery.

Did I say they *will* do it? In this expression, however, I have but used the wrong tense : it should have been, they *have* done it. Instance the late outrageous, despotic, unconstitutional *gag-law* resolutions introduced by Mr. Patton, a slaveholding member of Congress from Virginia, to prove the *one*, and all the disgraceful, unrebuked, pro-slavery riots in the land to put down free discussion to prove the *other*.

The ever notable slaveholder's resolution alluded to, and which is so highly insulting to a *people* called free, will be found disgracing the *congressional journals* of American citizens, who are yet tantalized with the mere name free, as recorded December 2, 1837 : Ayes 122, Naves 74.

All the names of those who voted on this memorable occasion, both of the friends and of the enemies of the

liberties of the PEOPLE, should be held up before the nation and the world; on the *one* hand for GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE; and on the *other*, for *righteous indignation, contempt, and scorn.*

But I have only space here to record the obnoxious resolution itself which is as follows:—

“Resolved, That all *memorials, petitions, and papers*, touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling, or transfer of slaves in any state, *territory, or district* of the United States, shall be *laid on the table, without reading, or reference, or printing, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.*”

If there be a freeman in this Union, (and in this case more especially a northern one,) who has the '76 kind of spirit of freedom in him, I must say, that for the time being, at least, he must be devoid of patriotic sensibility if he does not most keenly feel his own flesh *shrinking and quivering* under the *task-master's cruel and gory lash upon his scarred back*, and feel his own limbs *aching* with his *driver's clanking and galling chains*, in the very spirit as well as the letter of this unheard-of tyrannical resolution. I feel compelled to say, that if there be one who has not something of this feeling, that I cannot avoid the *painful thought*, that he must himself at least be in a rapid process of *insensible preparation for slaveholding vassalage.*

We are very prone to speak of the aristocracy, the tyranny, and the despotism of other nations; but where is there a power on earth, save that which is *absolutely despotism itself*, that has ever dared to take such a stride over the liberties of the PEOPLE? How greatly do our northern delegation in Congress themselves need

to be emancipated by the PEOPLE, that they may enjoy perfect *freedom of debate*, not the freedom of the *body* merely, but the *liberty of the soul*.

When the people of Great Britain, (against whom some of our people often lavish their censures unsparingly) petitioned their parliament for years on the same subject, that parliament never thought of a denial to the people of their own *sacred right of petition*, and slavery throughout the whole British dominions has been in consequence most *happily, honourably, and peacefully* abolished. This is the very thing that *American despots* and slaveholding politicians are afraid of.

But as to the objection to the discussion of slavery, because the slaveholders will dissolve the Union, instead of its being "*prudence*," thus to UNMAN ourselves by *surrendering* all our constitutional fundamental rights to slaveholders upon such a plea, it would be like fearing to ask a man for a just debt, lest perchance he should be offended and run his country, or commit suicide.

The south, after all her threats and abuse of the north, unless indeed she shall become absolutely insane, and fully prepared to plunge herself into the very mouth of her own "*volcano*," never will seriously attempt to run away from the Union any farther than she can carry the government of the United States, with all its advantages, with her. In this sense, the south have for years been running away *from*, or rather running away *with*, the Union.

There would probably be some northern sychophants to southern dictation that would hurra for the Union! and call it all *patriotism*, if they actually saw the *Union on wheels rolling towards Mexico, if already on the way, as*

far as Texas. It is *true*, that by the unconstitutional and overbearing course pursued by slaveholding *politicians* towards the north, growing out of the institution and the very *despotic spirit of slavery*, if much longer persisted in, may become unendurable on the part of the north, and in this sense the south might indeed be said to compel the north to dissolve the Union in order to enjoy that constitutional freedom which their fathers purchased for them, and which no *freeman* without its enjoyment considers life a blessing.

But I still entertain the consoling hope that the body of the people, both north and south, will yet firmly settle down upon our great fundamental and constitutional principles of rational civil liberty.

In no other way than carrying the Union with her, will the south ever *dissolve* the Union on account of her *slavery*, even though it be investigated to the very depths of all its abominations.

All that is wanting to *abolish* SLAVERY and SAVE THE UNION, is for the entire free states to stand FIRM to the CONSTITUTION, in nobly sustaining *freedom of speech, liberty of the press, and the right of petition.* If there be any danger in this case, here it lies; for short of this, our own liberties and the liberties of the nation are gone!!

Dear as *slavery* is to the south, and as long as she has worshipped *this idol*, she would sooner, *far* sooner renounce it, than she would seriously hazard the maniac and desperate attempt to run away from the Union any farther, as remarked, than she can carry the Union along with her. There may be some *reckless, unprincipled, and ambitious* POLITICIANS at the south, who, could they

imagine themselves able to stand under the heavy load, might attempt to *purloin* the whole Union, *slavery* and all, and as before said, not stop with it short of Texas or Mexico.

But among the great body of the PEOPLE at the south, there are most unquestionably thousands who are both ENEMIES to SLAVERY and FRIENDS to the Union, who are themselves under slaveholding political oppression almost equal to slavery itself. What adds greatly to the present wickedness and horror of the institution of American slavery, is, that unprincipled and ambitious politicians, to a greater or a less extent in the *whole nation*, either *directly* or *indirectly*, stop nothing to make it a vast engine of corrupt political power. It requires but little discernment to see this, to one who will just observe the moving of the waters. Political power, corrupt as it is, does sometimes accomplish wonders. "The wicked, for a time, do often flourish and spread themselves like the green bay tree."

Even to carry the whole Union to Texas and to Mexico, the southern monster "SLAVERY" has strength to accomplish, if he can but succeed in destroying the *counter-draught* by lulling our northern SAMSONS to sleep, and by bribery, employ some evil Delilahs to shear off their locks. The "hoax" about the south dissolving the Union in the sense of barely breaking off her allegiance to the federal government, has often reminded me of the turbulent and disobedient son, who would frequently threaten his good father that he would hang himself if he would not grant him certain unreasonable favours: till at length the father prepared a rope and presented it to his very dutiful son, at the same

time earnestly pointing out to him a convenient place where he might put his impious threat into execution.

This hopeful youth becoming satisfied that he could not bring his father to his unreasonable terms in this way, remained quiet awhile ; but at length changed his threat to that of running away, never to return to his father's house. The long abused father, who by this time had learned wisdom from experience, instantly turned his rebellious and unnatural son out of his house, with the stern injunction never to return, but with unfeigned repentance for his former conduct, and a full determination to obey his proper and rightful authority. The sturdy lad then finding himself indeed *obliged* to go, reluctantly left his slighted father's house, but cherishing the secret and last hope upon which his obstinacy hung, that his affectionate father would soon be after him to importune him to return.

But being disappointed in this also, and remaining away until he was reduced to want, beggary, and extreme wretchedness, "came to himself," and like the prodigal, returned to his father, "weeping bitterly, and humbly confessed the wrongs he had done him."

Says one who intimately understands the history of our government, "the southern threat of dissolving the Union is co-existent with the Union itself. Once they demanded a tariff, and threatened to rend the Union if we did not yield. We bowed the head in submission. Again, they said, let Missouri enter the Union, or it is dissolved. We bowed again. Repeal the protective tariff, or we will withdraw. Prostrate, we again kissed the dust. Finally, this is but the sixth time that the threat has been uttered."

The danger of the Union being dissolved, (if there be danger from any quarter,) lies altogether on the "*other side of the house.*" Should slavery be continued and extended, it would doubtless ultimately dissolve the Union; but if *abolished*, would "most gloriously" preserve it: and then, instead of slaveholders "blowing the Union into atoms," our posterity might become a great and an honourable nation, with its four or five hundred millions of people, all freemen indeed!

But let us ever bear in mind that our constitutional liberties, freedom of speech, and the right of petition, must be *firmly maintained*, or these millions of our posterity, would be but so many millions of degraded vassals to some cruel and bloody despot! It should be remembered, that without freedom of speech, all else is slavery. Let the vast country of Texas be annexed to the Union, and carved up into some eight or ten slave States for southern slaveholding political power; and let slavery in all the present twelve slave States be still rapidly increasing; and from the already vastly unequal scale of political representation between the slaveholding and the free states, the southern monster would soon be found dragging northern liberties to his iron car with giant strength.

Indeed, we already feel his power, or rather see his teeth, and hear him growl and roar in his den, when he *peremptorily* demands that our mouths shall be gagged, our presses muzzled, our citizens scourged, and bids up high and tempting bounties for the ears and the heads of our northern fellow-citizens, who do not at once surrender up their dearest and their most clear constitutional rights upon the despotic and bloody altar of slavery.

Much as the north loves the Union upon *constitutional and honourable principles*, consistent with rational liberty; if *either must be surrendered*, is it not greatly to be hoped she will prefer to retain her constitutional freedom?

Moreover, this southern monster has already banished from his dark dominions all northern citizens of the Union, so far as regards the constitutional exercise of the right of speech, so sacredly and so clearly guaranteed to every citizen of the United States.

American freemen cannot now travel in safety through their own nation, unless they will bow down and *worship slavery*. And what to me is most alarming in all this, is, that this voice from the south, "of thunder tones," does not awake the north to her own danger!!!

Does she require a voice loud enough to awake her, which awakes her only to her own ruin? I am well aware that we hear from some interested *northern* politicians, (but not from *southern* ones,) that we should, on no occasion whatever, be heard to *lisp* a syllable about *north* and *south*. But from this opinion I wholly dissent. *Let the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, be told.*

I was quite recently forcibly reminded of the importance of "*eternal vigilance*," (in a people who would long be free,) in checking the *incipient* steps of despotism among them, while listening to a speech of the Hon. Ashley Samson, of the city of Rochester, on the freedom of speech and the press. I take the liberty to quote a very few remarks of that gentleman, in his own language, on that occasion, as being much to my purpose in this place.

“*Encroachments* upon our liberties,” said he, “are often *gradual and insidious*. The time to *arrest their progress* is in the COMMENCEMENT.

“Oppression is often more dangerous in its *principles* than in its *effects*. At the commencement of our revolution, the amount of *actual* oppression was *comparatively* small. There was, to be sure, a two-penny tax on tea, and other similar measures. Had this been all, it might have been endured.

“But our fathers saw in these arbitrary acts the germ of still more high-handed oppression. They saw the *gradual approach* of despotism.”

Here the speaker most happily quoted the eloquent language of Burke, “that they (our fathers) scented the approach of tyranny on every tainted breeze.”

This gentleman is not yet, I believe, a professed abolitionist!! But how can men of this class of mind long be otherwise? Indeed, I trust they *will not be*, after their attention shall long have been directed to the whole subject.

The reader will doubtless see, that these enlightened and patriotic views are strictly and forcibly applicable to *our* case as a people at the present time; for if the monster, slavery, while yet in his infancy, has power to nullify one of the dearest and most valuable articles of the American constitution, and, by Lynch law, disfranchise northern citizens of this Union, what could he not do, if suffered to live until he attain his full MAMMOTH GROWTH? Would he then have but to shake his terrible locks, and the now called free states be compelled to revolt, or to bow down and tremble for very fear? Would not then the long delightful note, “UNION,”

ease to charm us, should we cease to associate LIBERTY with it?

Aside from any corrupt designs of unprincipled and ambitious politicians, what possible object could the South, as a *people*, have, to even wish the Union dissolved on account of their slavery? If they were now, with Texas and all their *slavery*, a nation by themselves, and an enclosure thrown about them as high and as broad as the Chinese wall, the same powerful moral influence in the whole civilized world would still exist against the wickedness and the abominations of *slavery*, and would find its way among them, to their "eternal annoyance," upon every wholesome breeze from the four quarters of the globe.

And furthermore, what additional *political* security for their "peculiar institution" would they have, by being an independent slaveholding nation? Were it even so, this moment, the slaves would doubtless rejoice at it; for *then*, in escaping from bondage instead of *skulking* and *dodging* all the way to *Canada*, their shackles would forever fall off the moment they crossed Mason and Dixon's line. The Potomac and the Ohio rivers would very soon be as full of the oppressed sons of Africa floating to a land of freedom, as they were said to be some years ago with black squirrels at a time of their general emigration. At such an event the poor slaves would, moreover, rejoice; because *now*, under their iron reign of *oppression* and *terror*, they are often told, (and as things *now* are, these slaveholders claim a political right so to inform them,) that in case they ever strike for their *freedom*, the "*whole UNITED STATES would at once fall upon them, and cut them off from the*

face of the earth." But if the slaveholder could depend on no foreign aid, the slave would soon well understand, that it would be master against slave, single-handed, or perhaps *many of the oppressed against one oppressor!!!*

In contemplating the relation of this nation to its slavery, I cannot avoid regarding it, in one point of view, as harbouring within its borders an *immense army of two millions and a half*, composed at present of its mortal enemy, with which the nation must soon *honourably capitulate*, or be destroyed by it. *But honourable treaties make friends!!* I do not mean that the slaves now have the *physical* power to destroy the nation single-handed. But should a great and a general insurrection break out, the *variously* contending and *warring* elements, as a just judgement from on high, might easily effect the entire destruction of the *whole nation!!!*

SECTION XXV.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE, ALTHOUGH I HOLD TO FREE DISCUSSION, AND THINK THE SUBJECT MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN A WAY TO DO GOOD, BUT THESE 'MODERN' ABOLITIONISTS ARE SO DENUNCIATORY AND ABUSIVE, AND MANIFEST SUCH AN UNCHRISTIAN SPIRIT, I THINK THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY BETTER NOT BE AGITATED AT ALL, FOR IT ONLY EXCITES MOBS."

THIS is the very man of all others, who should himself at once, be crowned "mob-master general." It is this very class of plausible, "smooth-faced" men, who are of all others, the most dangerous.

There is nothing to be feared, but every thing to be hoped, in a free government, from frank, brave, open-hearted men, who promptly speak out their honest sentiments on all important subjects, as they should do. We always know just where to find such men, and we always have the benefit of their sentiments, for what they are worth.

If the people mean long to be free, they must not only *think* freely, but they must also *speak* freely and *independently*; and the man who will not do this himself, but waits for some "great head man" to speak for him, and the man also, instead of crying, mob! mob!

who will not firmly stand by and protect others, in the exercise of this right, (if his manner is not so pleasant as he could wish,) is the very man who is pursuing the most effectual course to subvert his own, and his country's liberties!!

No matter what the subject before the public, we must bravely meet it, without flinching, if we would long be free *ourselves*, and have our *country* free.

This objector, manifests on the very face of his objection, a gross absurdity. He first finds great fault with the *manner* in which others discuss the subject of slavery; then says it might be discussed in a way to do good, but will not discuss it himself. He is constitutionally privileged like every other freeman, to enjoy his own peculiar *manner*, being accountable for any abuse of this high privilege, not to an unreasonable, infuriated mob, but to the wholesome, safe, and constitutional laws of his country.

The long-sighted, and wise framers of our most excellent constitution, understanding mankind well, and looking down the vista of time, and beholding many millions of American freemen, with as great a variety of dispositions, temperaments, habits, and circumstances, as there were individuals, and all differing in feeling at different times, from themselves, as much as from one another, and having an endless diversity of conflicting interests, saw no way in which freedom could possibly be secured to each and to all, but to secure to each and to all, or rather to confirm, the Heaven-born inalienable right of pursuing happiness; or discussing subjects in his, or their own way, being answerable for the abuse of this right to wise constitutional laws only.

These sage men undoubtedly had in their eye, *all*, nay ! much more than all these considerations.

They doubtless supposed, that every man possessed as much of a guarantied constitutional right to say to any man, or to any set of men, that he or they had been *guilty* of telling a falsehood, as that they had "been *guilty*" of telling the truth. If the charge was slanderous, the accused of course had the remedy, by the good laws of his country in such cases provided, with all the civil advantages of a court of justice.

Every man therefore, is of course, constitutionally, just as much entitled to his own "peculiar manner" of "thinking and speaking," under these perfectly safe constitutional provisions for all parties, as he is to wear his own *peculiar hat*, or his own *peculiar coat*, of which he became lawfully possessed.

And the man who attempts to deprive him of his constitutional rights of freedom of thought and of speech, except when he makes himself liable to some wise constitutional law, and then to do it in a lawful manner, is just as much a robber, nay, a robber of far more sacred property, than though he should take his hat, his coat, or his purse, without liberty.

In a late speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. to a large audience in Faneuil Hall in Boston, on the occasion of the assassination of Lovejoy, for his exercising his constitutional freedom of speech, he said, "James Otis once thundered in this Hall, when the King of England but touched his *pocket*; but, continued this gentleman, what *mortal pen* could have written down his burning eloquence, had England offered to put a GAG upon his LIPS ! !"

This is the very doctrine for any people, who mean long to be free.

When any of their rights are disputed, this is the very time, most to *contend* for them, with *undaunted* courage, and MANLY FIRMNESS.

And even if a man, or a body of men, were slandered by means of this wise and indispensable constitutional toleration, so necessary to establish and maintain rational freedom, it were far better, and more honourable to ourselves and to our country, to expose the slanderer to public gaze and rebuke, by free discussion and counter testimony, than violently to destroy his property, "break his head," or take his life!! If the slandered sustain pecuniary damages by the slanderer, he of course, has his remedy at the law, if he be disposed to avail himself of it. Mobocrats are always both *physical* and *moral cowards*!!!

But if men alleging themselves to be slandered, resort to a violent, or to a slanderous course in return, they are indeed but too fully proving to all the world, that their feet are upon a sandy foundation, that their cause is untenable.

I was indeed quite forcibly struck with the truth of this general principle, which I think may very justly be considered of almost universal application, in just now casting my eye upon an article in a public journal, in relation to James Watson Webb, whom report says recently procured the murder of Cilley by the hand of Graves, in the late duel at Washington, for words spoken in debate by Cilley, on the floor of Congress, in relation to the conduct of Webb.

The article alluded to is as follows :—

"The general effect is, instead of relieving Webb from

the charge as to the United States' Bank, to revive the story in every man's mouth; and men are heard in all parts of the town to express their full belief in the charge, who hitherto were silent, or doubted. People are rushing to the Courier office, and expressing their abhorrence of his conduct by discontinuing their subscriptions. It is said and believed, that he has already lost some 500 subscribers. Friends and foes condemn him, and abhor his conduct. A public meeting has been called; and so great and strong was the excitement, that I am afraid he is not safe in the city."

I cannot fully vouch for the truth of all these statements; but only say, that should they prove in all respects correct, they do but illustrate the principle, that it is ever a bad cause which will not admit of being carefully examined and "reasoned upon."

If this doctrine be correct, what are we obliged to say then to slaveholders, who will not manfully meet us half way, and discuss the merits of slavery like men, instead of first menacing the north with secession, and next appealing to its aristocracy to help them in their ambitious designs upon the north? If they will do so, and will prove slavery to be right, I, for one, will most cheerfully yield the controversy, and be ready to make all reparation for injury in my power; but if they fail to do this, and I succeed in proving slavery to be wrong, and greatly oppressing my brother, then shall I claim a heavy verdict against the slaveholder, and his apologists and abettors, from a jury of all Heaven and earth.

No violence, by the sordid policy of individuals, or of governments, can very long be safely and successfully

practised to *parry* off the influence of any dreaded result of investigation.

Our government once tried the experiment of attempting to put down freedom of opinion in the enactment of the ever memorable alien and sedition laws.

These laws, which in themselves were far less dangerous to the liberties of the people, than are the Congressional GAG-LAW resolutions of 1838, were most promptly "expunged" by the people through the elevation of Mr. Jefferson to the highest office in their gift upon the single sentiment, (of which Mr. Jefferson was the author, and the unflinching advocate while he lived,) that "error of opinion may be safely tolerated, while reason is left free to combat it." So it will continue to be with a people so long as they are destined to be free.

These odious alien and sedition laws, commonly known by the name of the "gag laws," were long remembered by the people with a kind of patriotic horror!!! But by the violence which has been practised of late in suppressing freedom of opinion, and in many instances passively tolerated, I have sometimes thought it was almost to be feared that that virtuous indignation which once existed against encroachments upon any of our constitutional and fundamental rights, is measurably obliterated from the public mind, and that in the days of our prosperity we had nearly forgotten what were the landmarks of our fathers.

And here I cannot forbear to say again, that if we desire long to be free, the great fundamental principles of all truly free governments, the conscientious right of *opinion*, of *speech*, and of *petition*, must forever take the lead, and hold a distinguished prominence in the public

mind above all other considerations of which we can possibly conceive in relation to human governments, and all the rights of man.

Even a "UNION" whose *territory* might embrace the *GLOBE*, should not for a *moment* be suffered to pervert our *higher* principles, or to blind our eyes so far, that we would sacrifice these only fundamental principles of human freedom.

No considerations whatever should make us falter for a moment in the firm support of these original and broad principles of all civil liberty among men.

Even the love of union, (which *ought* indeed in every part of the land to be but another name for *liberty*, should not however be suffered to deceive us, and lead us astray from the only principles by which a free government can possibly be sustained.

That admirable sentiment so beautifully expressed, "*liberty and union, one and inseparable, now and forever,*" is most unquestionably correct in the very sense in which it ever ought to be understood; that is, that so long as a people are *harmonious, and cordially united in sentiment*, whether in *political or religious* faith, there will be *true liberty* among that *people*. But if this sentiment is to be *grossly and dangerously perverted*, as some in our country but too evidently would have it; and to be made to mean a union of *territory merely*, entirely regardless of all moral or political principles of action, or as the mere *theatre* of ambitious and unprincipled demagogues, whether *slaveholding, political, ecclesiastical*, or of *whatever name*; then for *one*, I shall most certainly forever protest against any such construction; for if such a construction be a correct one,

then most assuredly our *disunion* from Great Britain would at once have reduced us to *slavery and vassalage*, instead of elevating us to *liberty and independence*. If we mean to be *freemen* indeed, let us never be induced by the flattery of *sychophants*, or by the frowns of *tyrants* to desert the first great landmarks of all rational liberty, the *unabridged freedom of speech and right of petition*.

Neither must we as a "sovereign people" *degrade* ourselves by *cringing* and *begging* for these RIGHTS when *robbed* of them by our *servants*, (despotically called *rulers*,) but take them in our own "*sovereign capacity*" as our own *lawful property*, for nothing short of this would be manifesting to the world the *true dignity of a free people*.

I mean nothing more by this than that we should ever nobly and *manfully* act up to the very spirit and privileges of our *laws*, and our *once* idolized *constitution*.

SECTION XXVI.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE I DO NOT BELIEVE IN THESE PEOPLE WHO TALK SO MUCH ABOUT ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES OF RIGHT AND WRONG, FOR I BELIEVE SUCH PRINCIPLES ARE ALL 'MOONSHINE.'"

HERE we see the very "cloven foot" itself exposed to horrid view. So thought revolutionary France, when in her dreadful infatuation, she publicly discarded and "burned with fire" the only revelation from Heaven to men, as "*a guide to their feet, and a lamp to their path,*" when she then knelt down and worshipped the God of "expediency," and all were let loose; and every man's hand was found against his fellow; and blood flowed at every pore through the streets of Paris.

The truth is, that a great and a high-minded statesman, who acts for his whole country, and nothing but his country (save his God,) and who plants his feet, as did our noble ancestors, upon the immutable, eternal, and inalienable rights of man, differs as widely from a mere quibbling, vacillating, "expediency," party politician, as are the poles apart. The *one* is the true *beacon light* that guides the weather-beaten mariner safe into port; the *other*, that false, deceptive light, that "lures but to deceive," and ultimately leads the anxious mariner to shipwreck and ruin. The *one*, is like the very sun in

the Heavens, which ever shines by its own native light; and the *other*, like that *opaque* body, which but dimly shines, and that, too, only by the reflection of its borrowed light, while all is darkness within. The one, in short, is fitted to illuminate, and to save a nation; and the other, but to darken, bewilder, and destroy it.

SECTION XXVII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE NORTH ARE ALREADY OPPOSED TO SLAVERY, AND THAT IS ENOUGH."

WHAT say the slaveholding politicians of the south on this point? and how responds the pro-slavery demagogues of the north to it?

Mr. Calhoun, a slaveholder, has just proclaimed in the Senate of the United States, as a reason why anti-slavery petitions from northern citizens to Congress should be spurned, and contemptuously trampled under the feet of the public servants of the "sovereign people," that the north were not opposed to slavery, except "women and children."

There are, it is true, many noble hearted and intelligent females at the north, and some, I trust, at the south, who do indeed loathe and abhor slavery in all its forms, as the abomination of all abominations; as a system which rudely and most cruelly seizes and tears their suffering and ill-fated sisters from their bosom companions, — from their children, and all that they hold dear on earth, — and hurries them off into a returnless and cruel bondage. There are also many children at the north 'who are yet uncontaminated by the corrupting and "*heart-hardening*" process of the ever-blighting,

slaveholding, and party "*expediency*" spirit, whose "young and simple" hearts do indeed burn with the honest indignation of nature, at the sad story of the distressing wrongs practised upon thousands of their innocent fellow-children in bondage, who are constantly "being torn" by the iron grasp of the slaveholder from the affectionate embrace of their fond parents. When they hear these heartrending tales of sorrow and of woe, they seem hardly to believe that such things can be done by "*human*" beings, and listen to the recital of painful facts with the like terror as that which is excited in their minds by accounts of the ravages of wild beasts upon their human prey.

But, would it were the fact, that not only a *few* philanthropic female hearts at the north were lifted up to Heaven in supplication to the God of the oppressed, in behalf both of the oppressor and the oppressed, but that *every female heart* in the nation was thus affected, and thus directed.

Were this even so, it would not be long before such slaveholding, nullifying demagogues as J. C. Calhoun, at the *south*, who hold all religion to be *bigotry*, and all *slavery* to be *freedom*; together with all their pro-slavery abettors of a kindred spirit at the north, would be made to quail before its powerful and peaceful influence; and the "still small voice" would be found more efficient than all the *whirlwind of passion*; of men who speak thus contemptuously of female influence; and such political traducers of female worth, would soon hide their "diminished heads," and the millions of our innocent enslaved countrymen would speedily leap for

joy, and shout the loud song of universal jubilee; and the man then who should be found kidnapping and selling his fellow-man, would be *banished from human society*.

And then, too, indeed, could every true patriot rejoice, that his beloved COUNTRY was redeemed from the long pending, threatening curse of SLAVERY, which had hung over it like a ponderous avalanche, ready to fall upon it with crushing power.

The Misses Grimkié, though natives of a slaveholding State, have already nobly led the way; and while the "*Priest and the Levite*" have passed by on the other side, these unassuming females have been the true Samaritans, and have wielded a moral and an intellectual power on the subject of American slavery, truly astonishing; and have done honour to human nature, to their sex, and their country.

How can one, calling himself a MAN, stand back, and carp about female "*delicacy*," while his own mouth, meanwhile, is kept padlocked against the cause of the suffering, oppressed, and the dumb, in his own country?

But while the sentiments of many intelligent and philanthropic females are well known on this great subject of HUMANITY, and for the noble and fearless expression of their sentiments, their country owe them the highest esteem and praise, I am also happy to be able to say, that there are many thousands of MEN, too, at the north of "sane minds," who have had the courage to break away from the thralldom of *party expediency* and ECCLESIASTICAL DOMINATION, and to speak out for all the

rights of man, and for their country, as becomes Christians, republicans, and *independent freemen*.

Let the FOURTEEN HUNDRED societies in favour of FREEDOM, with their TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND members, speak for themselves.

SECTION XXVIII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE THE SUBJECT IS SO ABSORBING THAT WHEN MEN BECOME ENGAGED IN IT, THEY SEEM TO FORGET EVERY THING ELSE, AND BECOME MEN OF "ONE IDEA;" AND THEY THEN BECOME SO MUCH WROUGHT UP, THAT THEIR LANGUAGE IS DENUNCIATORY."

Now, as a general thing, I believe that abolitionists, as a class of citizens, are known to attend to their relative duties in society probably about the same as other men. I have no doubt, when our fathers became men of "one idea" in their memorable struggle for *their* liberty, for *ours*, (and I fain would hope, too, for our *posterity*,) that there were some few among them, had they dared to have spoken out, would have said, "Though I am with you in sentiment on this subject, I do believe Great Britain is oppressing us, and will continue to oppress us more and more, unless we immediately break her yoke; still, I do not think it prudent for us to leave our families, and to spend all our time and our property in this struggle for liberty, for it would be acting altogether like men of 'one idea.' "

All opposers to any great reform in any age of the world have been pleased, in order to retard its progress, to stigmatize men in some such way, who have indeed

been altogether absorbed in acquiring intelligence and energy equal to the work which their hands found to do for rolling on the reformation, which they deemed worthy for the time being to command all their powers.

With regard to denunciatory language I have a word to say. It is unquestionably wrong, in any case, to apply stronger epithets to any crime, or to any criminal, than truth will justify. If men, in all their discussions and proceedings, both moral and political, would state "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," in just such language as conveyed the exact truth, and nothing more nor less, this, doubtless, would ever stand the strictest test as an infallible criterion. But the language of different men, on all subjects, will, of course, vary as their organizations, temperaments, feelings, and views shall vary. But one thing is certain, which all experience and observation teach us, that to men who feel little or nothing themselves on a given subject, the language of the impassioned eloquence of a Paul or a Stephen; or of a Hancock, an Otis, or a Patrick Henry of modern times, would doubtless often seem harsh, denunciatory, and altogether offensive and uncalled for; and such cool-hearted persons would be ready to cry out, "ultra! fanatic!" or, as they did to Paul, "much learning maketh thee mad;" or, "you are turning the world upside down."

It is true, as it regards the language of Patrick Henry, in the cause of the American revolution, though very strong and bold, and his eloquence masculine and burning, it was not offensive to his auditors, because every pulse beat in unison with it, and every soul responded Amen! to all the sentiments which he uttered: Here

appears to be the great secret of language being pleasing or offensive. Doubtless, had the tyrants who were then forging the chains for our fathers listened to the language of many of the high-minded and full-souled orators of the revolution, while pouring forth their deep indignation against their tyranny and oppressions, they would have pronounced their language highly denunciatory and greatly abusive, even worthy of instant death, "without benefit of clergy."

I think this must hold good on all subjects, among all men. I know of no safer, more honest, or more consistent principle on this subject, than first to see well to it that our sentiments are "just and true;" and, when satisfied of this, that our language, if possible, exactly convey our sentiments. Just as far as our words are intentionally made to fall short of the true representatives of our honest sentiments, just so far does not the charge of "expediency," "flattery," or even lying, justly stand against us, in the view of all earth and Heaven?

SECTION XXIX.

**"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY,
BECAUSE FEMALES ARE ENGAGED IN IT."**

WHY should they *not* be engaged in it? There are now in this far-famed Christian land — in this land which sends out its *hundreds of missionaries* to preach *Christ* to the *heathen* — more than a million of females in southern bondage, most of whom have never even had an offer of *Christ* and *salvation*, from the thousands of the *ministers of Christ* abroad, or at home, and in their very midst. And with regard to temporal privations and afflictions, they are not only liable any moment to be torn asunder by the hand of violence, from all the tender relations and endearments of life forever, and driven by the whip, from husband, from children, and from all that they hold dear on earth; but wherever they may be, almost from infancy to the grave, they are cruelly doomed to one unremitting, endless round of toil, in the sugar, cotton, and rice fields, from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, to finish their hard tasks, with but a scanty pittance of food to sustain their exhausted and often worn-out bodies, leaving their young infants alone, at one end of the long, dreary, scorched field, until they work through to the opposite end and return. Sometimes the *negroes* have compassion on these poor women, with their young infants to take care of, and neglect their *own tasks*, and help finish *theirs*, to save their wives and their daugh-

ers from the cruel stripes; and voluntarily receive the ashes on their *own* bare backs. Surely, if there be a cause on earth in which it becomes females to be engaged, is not this one? Females can help make a righteous public opinion by disseminating truth, and this, with the blessing of Heaven, will soon peacefully and happily for all concerned, accomplish the greatly desired work of the universal emancipation of all the millions of our innocent countrymen who are now in cruel bonds.

Let not females, then, be discouraged in their labours of love in this cause of humanity; for the greatest oak that was ever felled, the greatest temple or city ever built, the Erie, the Ohio, and the Pennsylvania canals, nay, much more, the improvements of the whole world, were all accomplished by single and successive blows. And to show the *inconsistency*, not to say hypocrisy of some men, there are those who will tax all their powers of eloquence to induce females to engage in active efforts to raise heathen women from their degraded state, who will, at the same time, even "*impiously sneer*" at the idea of females being members of an anti-slavery society, to extend help to their suffering sister near at hand. And while I can say, that I most cordially approve of *doing the one*, from the same principle of benevolence, I am compelled to say, that I equally disapprove of leaving the *other undone*. Our philanthropy and benevolence, to be consistent, should be universal.

The same wicked and aristocratic selfishness, which makes *men* in Christian lands, reduce both *male and female* to a state of abject slavery, makes men in pagan lands, reduce *females* to universal servitude. As Christians, philanthropists, or republicans, we are equally

bound to oppose both. And what just claim can we have to these so much coveted names, if we do it not? There are many men in our country, standing even in "holy places," who, while they give long, learned, profound, and laboured discourses, to prove who *Melchisedec* was, to establish some favourite creed, or to proselyte to some sect, affect not to see that there are any oppressions in this nation; and straightway, like the "*Priest and the Levite, pass by on the other side.*"

Most men in this country *professedly*, and *all* do at least *tacitly*, respect the influence of females; feeling conscious that they possess *intelligence*, with minds less biassed by pecuniary interests, or by debasing party politics, and less contaminated with considerations of "expediency" which often prevent *men* from *discerning, embracing, and acting upon principle*. With these views of female characteristic, men cannot but *pause*, and reflect, when they see females espousing a cause. And in this way, through their pride or love of independence, they often stand long *rebuked* before they will *confess their wrong*; nevertheless, the fact has been established beyond controversy, time immemorial I believe, that the minds of men are neither *invulnerable* nor *invincible*, even by "*the ladies.*"

Without naming the endless toils and sufferings of the female in a state of slavery, the oft-repeated and untold scourgings, by her reckless and bruited driver, frequently under every circumstance of *female destiny*; one would think, after reading the following advertisement alone, that no MAN would ever again be heard to speak slightly of females opposing *slavery* with their *whole soul*.

(From the Brunswick Georgia Advocate.)

WANTED TO HIRE.

The undersigned wish to hire *One Thousand Negroes* to work on the *Brunswick* canal, of whom, one third may be *women*. \$16 per month will be paid for steady prime *men*, and \$13 for able *women*.

F. & A. PRATT.

P. M. NIGHTINGALE.

Brunswick, January 25, 1839.

Have we, as a *nation*, any great cause to thank the *colonizationist* for all his efforts, (admitting they are well meant,) to get "*prime*" labouring *men* and "*able*" *women* out of the country, when they are urgently called for by *thousands*?

The *abolitionist* desires them to remain, and to have a "*fair chance*" for their *lives*, their *persons*, and their *property*.

SECTION XXX.

"I AM OPPOSED, SAYS HONEST FRANK, TO HAVING SLAVERY DISCUSSED, BECAUSE SLAVERY IS RIGHT; AND I AM AFRAID THAT THE DISCUSSION OF IT, THROUGH THE MERE SYMPATHIES OF THE PEOPLE, WOULD EVENTUALLY ABOLISH IT, WHICH I THINK WOULD BE WRONG."

THE "*niggers*" are nothing but a species of baboon, or "*ourang outang*." You know, says *Honest Frank*, there is a "*gradation of being in the scale of existence*." The slaveholders have some how or other managed to get the *upper hand* of those "*creatures*," and it is just as much their right to keep it, and to hold on to them as their *property*, as it would be, if a company of *Indians should overcome, and take a lot of buffaloes in the wilds of Missouri, to kill them, sell their skins, and eat their flesh!*

Now, as horrible as *Honest Frank's* doctrine appears in *theory*, just divest the whole subject of all its phari-saical drapery, and slavery is all this in PRACTICE; and its apologists, in endeavouring to excuse or to palliate slaveholding for a moment, are encouraging a principle which leads to similar treatment of *human and immortal beings*. The selfish doctrine of "*expediency*" would always end in all this towards men of all colours, stat-

ures, or conditions, if left entirely unchecked, by the immutable and eternal principle of *right*, "which teaches us to do to others as we wish others to do to us." Does it not become us all manfully to resist the first dawnings of this aggressive principle upon the equal rights of man? This doctrine of equal rights, or of doing to others as we would have others do unto us, is from ABOVE, and serves as a kind of "checkrein" upon the selfish, wicked, and "*expedient*" hearts of men, or as an anchor to hold mankind from utterly destroying and devouring one another. Some may be ready to pronounce this a reflection too severe upon human nature; but I have only to refer such to the despotic and bloody annals of all past time by way of confirmation of its correctness. Man, when left to himself, independent of some wholesome influence, human or divine, has long since proved himself unworthy of being entrusted with unequal power. The scripture phraseology employed, when speaking of this heavenly principle, which measurably holds in awe these conflicting and warring elements in the boundless ambition of man, is, "that it is the salt of the earth."

But when we hear politicians in the Senate of the United States, in *one* breath, blessing our "*free institutions*," and at the very *next*, with Mr. Calhoun, *congratulating the south* on the *superiority of their "institutions"* over the *north*, and with "shameless front," boldly explain their meaning to be, that *there*, (in southern slavery) "*labour cannot compete with capital*" — do not all their loud professions of *love for freedom*, sound, as one might well suppose the word "*holiness*" would, from the lips of *demons*?

SECTION XXXI.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY; FOR THOUGH SLAVERY IS A GREAT SIN, IN THE "ABSTRACT," IT IS A STILL GREATER ONE TO SAY SO, AND TO ATTEMPT TO INVESTIGATE IT."

I COULD say much in reply to this purely *selfish* and dangerous expediency doctrine, but do not deem it in place to do it here. But I feel constrained at least to say, that I greatly fear that the alarming prevalence of the doctrine of "expediency," or in other language, "supreme selfishness," or of committing known and acknowledged wrong, under some *very plausible pretext* that perchance a greater good may thereby be secured, is most rapidly, morally, and politically corrupting and cursing our nation.

In all countries, and in all ages, when the expediency doctrine has most obtained, instead of its showing a pure, and an elevated standard of morals, or a high and a discriminating sense of right and wrong, among the people; on the contrary, it has ever been known to have been the legitimate offspring of a low, grovelling principle of action, tending to moral and political degeneracy and ruin. And sometimes, for example, even that most debasing, ignoble, and wicked practice as the result, has prevailed among the people, of their kidnapping one another, and buying, selling themselves as mere articles of traffic, like beasts of burden. As

it regards ourselves as a whole people, it is indeed painful to be compelled to make the reflection, that our national characteristic in this respect, is at present very far below what it *should* be; and that principally on account of our slavery, is beginning to be too justly so regarded by neighbouring nations. Is not he who searches out, and fearlessly speaks the truth with reference to the best good of his country, and his fellow-men, far more their benefactor, however *ungratefully* the truth may by some be received, than the mere *encomiast*, who, to attain his own ends, is constantly, indiscriminately pronouncing high-sounding eulogiums upon his government and his countrymen, and often *entirely regardless of truth*? Are not the "wounds of a friend, *faithful*, while the kisses of an enemy are *deceitful*?"

Whoever supposed the mere *flatterer* was acting the part of a *judicious* friend? Who can fail to see the corrupting and downward tendency in MORALS of the "expediency" principle among the political parties of the day, in the mere selection of their candidates for office alone, with reference to no other question but that often *degrading* one; "who can, by any means whatever, secure the most votes?"

Volumes might be written upon the corrupting tendency of this kind of "expediency," and also of its dark, insidious, and highly dangerous influence, ultimately, to all our liberties. If this deceptive and arch foe to virtue and to freedom be not exposed in time by the sentinels upon the watch towers of our liberties, while yet in our midnight slumbers, like a "thief in the night," he will rob us of these liberties; and we, too, like others gone before us, shall awake only by the clanking of our

chains in slavery, to some artful, ambitious despot for our master.

Our slavery forms the very "head and front" of this dangerous "expediency" in our country. As for a single example, among many, of this sordid and interested character which might be named: Says a northern leading editor to his confidential friend, "I know that these abolitionists are in the right, and on the only ground of 'genuine democracy;' for we cannot take the very first lesson in discussing the great principles of civil liberty, as held out to the world in the declaration of American independence, without finding ourselves at once completely identified in sentiment with them; but it will never do for me, with my ten thousand slaveholding subscribers, or for us as a political party, to say so. My only hope of sustaining the immense expense of my paper, and our only hope as a party also, is to cry them down as a dangerous and 'bloodthirsty set of incendiaries,' for all this takes well with the south."

These same oppressive proceedings have been painfully too true of some religious bodies, as well as political parties. Will not our independent farmers and mechanics, nay, all classes of our fellow-citizens who are yet free and ABOVE this kind of dangerous slavery influence to all our liberties, speak out in their sovereignty, in trumpet tones, and free their own press from this dreadful thralldom, into which the "dough-faced" and dangerous "expediency" of not daring to speak what it admits to be the truth has involved it? But if we will still listen to this "expediency" *charm*, it will ultimately most assuredly bewilder, intoxicate, and ruin us. Our only hope of freedom is to dare to be honest. If we

cannot sustain our freedom in this way, we are indeed doomed to be slaves.

But the world's history, sacred or profane, records no instance of an honest, and an upright people, who dealt justly, and loved mercy, being forsaken of God to their own ruin.

SECTION XXXII.

**"I AM OPPOSED TO SLAVERY IN THE 'ABSTRACT,'
AND BELIEVE IT TO BE THE GREAT AND CRY-
ING SIN OF THIS NATION, BUT THINK IT 'INEX-
PEDIENT' TO DISCUSS IT JUST NOW."**

I SPEAK entirely independent of all men's party politics, or rather with like disapproval of all, regardless of party, who may fall under this principle, when I say it requires no prophetic eye, to see that any man who thinks more of electing his favourite presidential candidate, than he does of the liberation of two and a half millions of his fellow-beings from a cruel bondage, will find it very convenient, time without end, at least to be "*non-committal*," on the subject of slavery, not to say, an apologist or advocate for it.

Every man, who thinks of nothing but his party politics, will always have the ultimate success of himself, or his favourite candidates in view, and adopt as his prime maxim, the false sentiment, "that the" *end ever justifies the means*.

And whether that candidate be Van Buren, Benton, Rives, Clay, Calhoun, Harrison, Webster, or any other man, with much hope of success, it will all be the same as it regards the subject of slavery, so long as it exists,

and holds a political influence in the nation, so alarming to the friends of liberty, and so vast and controlling.

Indeed, I am expecting among the various candidates at the next presidential campaign, to see the great strife to be, who can go farthest in compromising northern liberties to southern slavery, and still spare enough of the north to accomplish the end.

So long as any man in the free states in this Union shall think more of his own political preferment, or that of his favourites for office requiring the united suffrages of the whole Union, than he does of the abolishment of slavery in the United States and throughout the world, just so long he will probably find it necessary, and will also have his plausible but fallacious and dangerous reasons at hand for cringing with entire subserviency, and base sycophancy, to the despotic dictation of southern slavery interest; and consequently go thus far, and no farther. "I am opposed to slavery in the 'abstract,' and in favour of free discussion in the 'abstract,' but think it altogether *inexpedient* to *agitate* the subject just now, or to emancipate the slaves until they are 'prepared for freedom, and we know what to do with them.' "

This man, who would seem to have no heart for benevolence or humanity, but ever bowing down to the heartless idol of his own favourite party politics, or being more governed by sectarianism, to sustain ecclesiastical ranks unbroken, than by "*pure and undefiled religion*," will ever still exclaim, "it is *inexpedient* " to agitate the subject of slavery "*just yet.*" This proba-

bly will be so with this class of "expediency" men, unless others preserve their liberties for them, until they and their children, in just retribution for their own "*expedient*," selfish, and unjust conduct, shall themselves become slaves also.

You ask a man, whose mind is thus *moulded*, when he thinks would be the time to discuss slavery; and if he could be prevailed upon to give a definite answer at all, it would most probably be something like the one which Fox of England once gave the Jews, to whom he had a long time been indebted to a large amount. When called on from time to time for payment, he was always ready, most cheerfully to acknowledge the justness of their claim, but the time of their application for its discharge never happened to come *exactly* right. At length, the patience of the "poor Jews" being exhausted, they addressed him as follows, viz.: "As you have always admitted the *principle*, but protested against the *time*, we will now give you your *own* time, only just fix on some *final* day for our repayment."

"Ah, my dear Moses," replies this cunning Fox, "now this is indeed friendly; I will take you at your word. I *will* fix a day; and as it is to be a *final* day, what would you think of the day of judgement?"

The reply was, "This will be too busy a day with us all."

"Well, well, then," says Fox, "in order to accommodate all parties, what would you think of the day after?"

I have quoted this anecdote, though of solemn import, as being quite applicable, I think, to this indefinite

"expediency" procrastination, to investigate a great national subject, which all are so ready to admit has such immense bearings upon the interests of all concerned. Is it the part of wisdom, or of patriotism, voluntarily to close our eyes to an approaching evil, *until it fall upon us to our utter destruction?*

SECTION XXXIII.

" I AM AN ABOLITIONIST, AM OPPOSED TO SLAVERY, AND IN FAVOUR OF ITS IMMEDIATE ABOLISHMENT, BUT AM OPPOSED TO THE PRESENT LEADING ABOLITIONISTS DISCUSSING IT, BECAUSE THEY SOMETIMES INTERMINGLE IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS, SOME OF THEIR OWN 'PECULIAR SENTIMENTS' ON RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS; AND I BELIEVE THEIR DISCUSSIONS ARE IN DANGER OF INJURING, AND PERHAPS OVERTHROWING, THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY AND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION; AND I BELIEVE I COULD DISCUSS IT 'FAR MORE ORTHODOX.' "

THERE is a class, of rather disguised opposers to abolitionists, who, to be sure, do not enter their protest exactly in so many words, but this is "the plain English of it." Now, I am prepared to say at once, that as much as I admire and love the Christian religion, and an upright Christian ministry, could I for a moment believe, that the most free and ample discussion of the authenticity and claims of this religion, would overthrow it, this very belief, of itself, would of course change my love and admiration into contempt.

But, so far from this, my most deliberate and settled opinion is, that the Christian religion, "abolitionism," and every other system founded in truth, is, like an

army "with banners," always victorious, and ever increasing in brilliancy and splendour, whenever in ACTION, whether offensive or defensive. It does, to my mind, argue very little faith in the truth or justice of any institution or creed, for its friends to be "*horrified*" at the idea of having all its claims, openly and fairly canvassed before the whole world. *My* only fear is, that despotism, in the world, which ever desires silence and darkness, will continue too long to smother and obscure the truth, for the good of mankind, and that, by this means, it will not have "*free course, run, and be glorified.*"

Whenever this disposition to rob men of that high gift of their Creator, "the right of speech," is manifested by the clergy, does it not savour of what the world too justly calls "PRIESTCRAFT?" And would they not in this way, instead of disseminating truth and just principles, build up and establish ecclesiastical domination and spiritual DESPOTISM? I have yet to see a new revelation, to be convinced that oppression is the best way to promote "pure and undefiled religion."

One would very naturally think, if this class of objectors to the discussion of slavery were sincere, when they tell us they heartily approve of the sentiments and principles of the abolitionists, but cannot "*swallow*" some of the leading ones, (as the refined language of one is,) that if their appetites were very keen for such food as abolitionists relish, they would at least be willing to sit down to the same table with them, and should they eat more genteelly, the example of their modesty and delicacy would, no doubt, tend much to rebuke the "greediness" of "*the whole MAN,*" or "*ultra abolition-*"

ists." But no! this they will not do, though they say their principles are the same. It must be, then, that what they fear is, that such a proximity to abolitionists would corrupt the purity and refinement of their manners. The conclusion then would be, that they think more of their manners than they do of their principles.

There has been much said about Mr. Garrison and the Misses Grimkié. It is said their views are not orthodox respecting the Christian Sabbath, the Christian ministry, &c., and therefore some "good abolitionists," as they avow themselves to be, (to use their own dialect,) cannot "swallow them," and are therefore determined "*to pass by on the other side.*"

I cannot better portray the conduct of disguised enemies to the cause of the oppressed under the cloak of friendship, than to do it in the graphic language of Gerrit Smith, Esq., as seen in one of his late published letters. "That one who is doing nothing for the poor slave, and *intending* to do nothing for him, should be occupied in pronouncing *criticisms* on the efforts which others are making for him, is about as unreasonable and imprudent as it is for the cowardly traitor to be surveying from some place of security which he has chosen for the purpose of observing the wrong evolutions, and to be counting up the mistakes of his countrymen who are *periling their all in the thickest of the battle.*" In this same interesting letter we also find the following noble sentiments. "But if these pastors, whilst desiring the Grimkiés to quit the field, have no intention to take it themselves; if they would have *men* also as well as *women* to be *dumb* in the cause of the "*dumb*," then I say, let not the Grimkiés *only* continue their advo-

cacy, but let all the *women* of New England, and all the *children* too,—yes, and the very *stones* of your streets, lift up their cry for the oppressed, and *keep it up*, until her *men* have quit their hiding places, and come up to the help of the Lord in this cause of crushed and perishing humanity.”

All now eagerly *claim* to be abolitionists, to take that “hated name” upon them, which a little while ago was but a hissing and a bye-word. Coming events begin to cast their shadows before them. But, to become a “radical abolitionist” requires a sound conversion to great, and high, and nobly self-denying principles of freedom; such as induce us to feel in the first place that all mankind, regardless of colour or condition, are “of one blood,” of one family, “the children of one common parent, and that, as such, are bound by one common brotherhood to treat one another with all that kindness and regard which we all so munificently and mercifully receive, and still fondly hope to enjoy from our Heavenly Father. In the second place, they are converted to such principles, as induce them to feel that if any portion of this common family become deprived by another portion of any of the inalienable gifts of our common Creator, that they are as sacredly bound to do every thing in their power lawfully and peacefully to restore these rights as they are to love, reverence, and obey their CREATOR, who commandeth all men to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. They are also then unwilling to admit of any modifications of this high and holy principle on account of colour, condition, prejudice, or “expediency.”

No wonder then that the real opposition to these just

and self-denying principles, in whatever plausible form it may be couched, is composed of heterogeneous materials, and shows itself in a vast variety of ways. The phrase has already become stale, and a mere cant, "I am an abolitionist, but not a *hot headed one*." I have come in contact with a number, who, by way of introduction, most unqualifiedly avowed themselves "abolitionists," but in the violence of their opposition to the "measures" of the "real abolitionists," or the true friends of the oppressed and the dumb, ere they were aware of it, found themselves advocating "colonization *with all their might*." I should think all this equivalent to saying "I am an abolitionist, but on the whole care very little about the '*niggers*.'" Pretty abolitionists these!! I could wish they might be few and far between. "Let every ship sail under its own colours."

And we should certainly suppose that those who have so much to say about amalgamation would all be decidedly in favour of this. On the one hand we hear the cry, "it is all political," and on the other, "I will not join you until you make it political." From another quarter we hear the alarm, it is all infidelity, and will overthrow the Christian sabbath, the Christian ministry, and finally the Christian religion; and from another it is all priestcraft, and will unite church and state. From another quarter we hear the complaint, that the abolitionists are "denunciatory and intolerant;" and the very next breeze wafts us the alarming intelligence that abolitionists are dangerously tolerant; that they are aiming at the subversion of all government, state, family, and even "*patriarchal*." But marvellous to know that in the very midst of all these alarms, from these va-

rious quarters, the cause of the oppressed has been for some time past, and is yet steadily and rapidly onward to ultimate victory and triumph, when the "bands of wickedness shall be broken," every yoke cast off, and the redeemed of the Lord made free indeed, and come to Mount Zion with crowns, and with songs of everlasting rejoicing.

Now if these objectors to the peculiar "*manner*" or "*measures*" of the "abolitionists" are sincere in their approval of their *sentiments*, as they say they are, why do they not most cordially unite in promulgating these principles, and in the mean time do what they can to correct whatever they might deem erroneous in others in regard to *manner*, &c.? But what is this *wonderful manner*? Why, just what the manner of every sincere and honest anti-slavery man *should* be, that is, to be in good earnest to manifest his deep abhorrence to all the dreadful oppressions of his nation!! What would these same objectors think, if all the members of Christian churches in the world should rise up at once, and say, "I will no longer be a member of Christ's visible church on earth, because all the members are not *perfect*?" In short, who does not see, that people, who are so very prone to proclaim aloud, and upon the house tops, all the faults (and in a magnified form,) of any body of men, and even to convert their very virtues into vices, that they cannot at heart be very friendly to the object which such men have in view? The *manner* never suits when the *matter* is offensive.

It might be well, however, for us to bear in mind, that the entire north, as well as most of the south, slaveholders and all, have always been *politely* and *very*

softly saying, "I am opposed to slavery, and think it a great evil," (or in other words, sin.) And all that abolitionists are now doing is saying the same thing, but in sincerity and in good earnest, *meaning just what they say*. And is not this the only satisfactory reason that can be given, why slaveholders and their apologists are more vexed about it than they were when *they too* used the same language with an *unmeaning emphasis*?

SECTION XXXIV.

**"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY,
BECAUSE ABOLITIONISTS WILL NOT GO TO THE
SOUTH TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT."**

Now, without hesitation, I give it as my own opinion, that some portion, at least, of this very peculiar class of objectors to the discussion of slavery, knowing the unconstitutional and violent proceedings of the outlawed southern mobocrats and Lynchites on this subject, can at heart have no kinder feelings towards abolitionists, in making this unreasonable and ungenerous *taunt* upon them, than, as it were, indirectly to dare them into imminent danger. And would it be uncharitable to conclude, that this peculiar class alluded to, would, at least secretly, even *exult* in hearing that the lives of abolitionists were unconstitutionally, as well as inhumanly sacrificed, in such an attempt?

But while I attribute such feelings to a part of the above described class of objectors to the discussion of slavery, (and for the credit of humanity, the character of my fellow-citizens, and the honour of my country, I would fain hope but a *small* part,) of a large proportion of this class I would desire, however, to exercise the charity towards them, that at least their feelings may be friendly to the anti-slavery cause, and none other than

kind towards abolitionists. But admitting this class to be honest and sincere, it is believed that they are greatly deceived, if they think this at present would be even practicable ; or, if practicable, that because abolitionists from the north have not yet done it to much extent *personally*, that it forms any rational argument why they should not discuss the subject freely at the north.

Abundance of testimony has already been adduced, and much more *might* be, that the north for a long time, (though professedly much opposed to slavery,) have been in comparative ignorance and slumber, both as it regards the moral, social, and political tendency of slavery upon our nation. One instance of proof positive of this is, that while we have in *words* professed greatly to loathe and abhor slavery, we have in *deeds* most conclusively proved that our high professions could not have been of the most hearty and *genuine kind* ; or, if so, that we have at least long been acting in great and culpable ignorance and darkness on this subject, when we take into account, that in the very midst of all these professions, we have added to the original number, by our votes, SEVEN vast slave states, or markets, where human FLESH, and human LIBERTY, are *constantly sold, under the hammer, to the highest bidder*.

The north also have cruelly persecuted those who have attempted to lift up their voice against slavery, or even attempted to investigate the subject. And it surely is a problem, which I confess myself utterly unable to solve ; to make out wherein the north have not heretofore, in a *national point of view*, been *essentially* as guilty of the sin of slavery, as the south.

Moreover, would it be unfair or unsound argument to say that the north, in an important sense, have been *even more* guilty, by giving *essential aid*, and countenance, to our great national and crying sin of slavery, with *far less temptation to it*, than the south have had?

Which should we deem the more criminal act, for the *poor* man to steal a dollar (as he might flatter himself from necessity) to buy his children bread, or the *RICH* man to increase the bulk of his already overgrown coffers? Though the north has not sold the slave, her hands are even now extended for the "*thirty pieces of silver.*"

For more than half a century, we have, as a nation, been confessing our great and crying sin of slavery, before the world, and before high Heaven; but it ought ever seriously to be borne in mind, that merely *confessing* sin, without *repenting* of it, and *forsaking* it, is but solemnly mocking HIM, who judgeth the tree by its fruit, or our *hearts* by our *WORKS*.

These very confessions, if seen to be heartless and hypocritical, instead of blessings, may righteously bring down judgements upon us as a people, as well as individuals. But this great national reform, is undoubtedly destined to begin at the north.

I will quote Luther, the great protestant reformer, as being applicable on this subject, at least by way of illustration.

While he was proclaiming the truth, in the most powerful manner in *Germany*, he was often asked, (as if he did not understand his business,) why he did not leave *Germany* and go immediately into *Italy*, to hold forth his reformation doctrines. His reply used to be, that

he was as yet barely tolerated in *Germany*, where the people were coming to their senses, and that ultimately the blaze of truth in *Germany*, would, by reflection, illuminate all *Italy*.

May the southern *States* in this way, be the *Italy* of *America*, and thus be illuminated by the universal dissemination of truth throughout the north. May the north even be as a "city set on an hill, whose light cannot be hid;" — and while the *north gives up*, "*may the south keep not back*,"

But break ev'ry yoke, let th' oppressed go free,
To shout the loud song of Jubilee,
That the blessings of Heaven may rest on our NATION,
And an honourable fame, e'er mark her STATION

"Righteousness exalteth a *nation*; but sin is a reproach to any people." We are justly reproached as a people, not only by HIM who judgeth the heart, but by the nations of the earth, for our great and crying sin of oppression.

Why go to the south to discuss *slavery*? when even the *vestibule* of this temple of abominations, at the very seat of the long boastedly freest government on the earth, cannot be *entered* by the friends of freedom, but is strongly guarded on all points, as with the drawn sword that turned every direction to *guard the tree of life*.

Says the Hon. John Quincy Adams, in a recent letter to his friends on the state of things in the nation, and particularly at *Washington*, in relation to the slaveholding reign of "violence and terror:" —

"The right of discussion upon slavery, and an indefinite extent of topics connected with it, is *banished* from one half of the States of this UNION.

"It is suspended in both houses of Congress — opened and closed at the pleasure of the slave representation — opened for the promulgation of nullification *sophistry*; closed against the question, *what is slavery?* — at the sound of which, the walls of the capitol staggered like a drunken man!!

"For this suppression of the *freedom of speech*, and of the *right of petition*, the people of the *free States of this Union are responsible.*"

In *grappling* with the *monster*, as the phrenologist would say, we have both *combativeness* and *secretiveness* to contend with.

Says Mr. Clay, while *rebuking* Mr. Calhoun for his *rashness*, in opposing even the reception of anti-slavery petitions : —

"Our anxious aim should be to *compose* the north, to *arrest the spirit of abolition*, and thereby prevent agitation!!"

On another occasion, this slaveholding president of the slaveholder's Colonization Society, says "It is well known to the Senate, that I have constantly entertained the opinion, that the best way to *check the spirit of abolition*, [alias, a spirit to discuss slavery,] was to receive *respectfully*, and refer these petitions to the proper committee.

"That would be (continues this senator,) the committee on the District of Columbia, — one now, and which probably has been ever since the commence-

ment of the government, so constituted as to comprise a MAJORITY of members from the SLAVEHOLDING STATES."

"If they were thus referred, (he continues,) *silently referred, as has been the practice during a great part of the period of the existence of the government, there would be no agitation fomented here, no ground for asserting that the sacred right of petition had been violated!!!*"

An arch feat of largerdemain this, to cheat a people out of their liberties!!

Now the truth is, that *slaveholding politicians* are determined to resort to every artifice and subterfuge, to evade, as long as possible, an honest investigation of their very "*peculiar institution,*" or in still more *peculiar words*, their "*monstrosity of humanity.*" This same senator but a few days before this, on another occasion, said: "*It is a bad cause that will not bear being reasoned upon.*" SO SAY WE ALL.

The conduct of the slave-representation in Congress, certainly reminds one of the anecdote of the good English parson, who, after having preached a most excellent discourse on the "*patience of Job,*" returned home and directed a mug of his *best ale* to be drawn. Word soon came, that some one had turned the faucet and the whole barrel had run out.

The parson being more a *theoretical* than a *practical man*, at once fell into a rage. "Stop! stop! my dear," exclaims the good wife, "remember the '*patience of Job.*'" — "Job! Job!" says the parson, "don't talk to me about Job, — Job never had a barrel of such ale as that!!"

So exclaims the slaveholding, and the pro-slavery demagogues, *slavery! slavery!* don't *talk* to me about *slavery*, — the world never had another so good institution as this!!!

SECTION XXXV.

**"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY,
BECAUSE THE SLAVES DO NOT WISH TO BE
FREE."**

Now let this be as it may, it is but one man's opinion, or assertion, and can possibly form no valid objection to the free investigation of the whole subject of slavery.

For instance, were *we* in slavery, should *we* be satisfied to have the public *sleep* on the subject of our servitude, and forever remain quiet, because, forsooth, masters should falsely proclaim to the world, that we did while we were not permitted to speak for ourselves, our not wish to be free?

Should we not rather wish, that the public voice should be, "*that we ought, must, and should be free?*" and then, if we thought proper, voluntarily to re-enter into slavery, that would be our own business, and would be no invasion of our inalienable rights. While all free-men know there is no *truth* in it, still some have taken advantage of the *obsequious* state of some of the poor slaves in their *degraded attempts to secure the favour of their masters*, by that kind of *slavish flattery*, which would be very natural in their miserable condition, that they did not desire their freedom, while at the same time, the truth was, that they longed for it as *we* should,

and perhaps were that very moment *secretly plotting* how to effect it!!

The slaveholder has often tried to *deceive* northern freemen, by attempting to practise this kind of mean and wicked duplicity, in order, if possible, to reconcile man to his holding his fellow in cruel bondage, and ruthlessly and wantonly working him, and selling him like the beast of the field.

If this be a fair specimen of "southern chivalry," indeed I should think it would be equally as "chivalrous," not to say far less wicked, to *peddle* "wooden nutmegs."

But who must not see that all this must be *weak* and *miserable subterfuge*, to *pass off upon northern and foreign visitors*, who at once see through the whole of it; and when also the plain and positive contradiction of it all stands out in bold relief upon the **PAGES OF THEIR OWN STATUTE BOOKS**, whereupon the slaveholders, knowing full well that the slaves, like other **MEN**, value liberty next to *life* itself, have, therefore, by law granted them this inestimable *boon*, in case of some very distinguished services rendered by them, such as saving the lives of any of their masters, or any of their families, &c. by *imminently jeopardizing* their own.

And many a poor *slave-man* has lost his *own* life in the desperate attempt thus to break his own heavy bonds and *obtain his liberty*, when no *freeman*, neither for friends, for silver, nor for gold, dared venture upon the *life-hazarding* enterprise. Were it necessary here, many most intensely interesting and thrilling examples of this kind might be cited, as evidence irresistible, how much *men, even coloured men, love liberty*. Who can with-

stand the touching appeals of such living and glowing eloquence for liberty? Every unbiased MAN who understands human nature, must *know* that every individual on earth *prizes his freedom far above every other earthly good*. Who does not know that man has always most readily and cheerfully given his *property*, his *sleepless toil*, nay more, often *jeopardied life itself* for his *freedom*? Indeed, the world's history presents little but one unbroken scene of struggling for liberty, for independence, or for conquest.

Says Dr. Channing: "the choice which every free-man makes, of death for *himself*, and his *children*, and of voluntary sacrifice of *every thing he loves on earth*, in preference to being *enslaved*, shows us all at once, most conclusively, what *slavery* is!!!" But I suppose, that even this dreadful and glowing portrait of slavery can give us but a faint conception of it, to what *he* has who has long felt the grappling iron itself entered deep into his soul.

SECTION XXXVI.

"I AM OPPOSED TO DISCUSSING SLAVERY, AND TO FASTING ON THE SUBJECT, AND PRAYING 'AUDIBLY' ABOUT IT, OR TO TALKING MUCH ABOUT IT AMONG 'OUR PEOPLE,' BECAUSE IT WILL DIVIDE OUR CHURCH, AND WHEN WE TRAVEL SOUTH WE SHALL NOT BE WELL RECEIVED BY OUR SLAVE-HOLDING BRETHREN."

"To be sure," says this pharisaical sectarian objector, "there are a great many things recorded in God's Holy Word, in relation to slavery and oppression, and many woes pronounced against these things, 'in the abstract,' which I do not fully understand." For instance, many such blind and mysterious passages, as the 6th verse of the 58th chapter of Isaiah, are to be found in the Holy Scriptures: *"Is not this the fast that I have chosen to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"* And also in Proverbs, xiv. 31: *"He that oppresseth the poor, reproacheth his Maker: but he that honoureth him, hath mercy on the poor."* But, adds this "pious objector," great is the mystery of "godliness."

All these very numerous passages in the Bible, says he, do indeed *literally* appear to be so many unequivocal and imperative commandments to man, but I pre-

sume the Holy Ghost (he continues) meant they should be obeyed, only when it might be "expedient," and would not distract or divide "our church," for blessed is the peacemaker !!!

We must preach *the gospel*, says he, but it is not "*expedient or prudent*" to point out particular sins, lest it "*divide the brethren.*" Now, while the hand of oppression, heavy as our noble fathers who were lovers of true liberty *felt* it to be from their mother country, still, it bore no kind of comparison whatever to that of our oppressions upon two and a half millions of our own suffering and enslaved countrymen, when they assembled with one accord, and with a high and noble daring, pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour" to break the oppressor's rod ; should one of *their* number have been heard to say, I love liberty, and hate oppression in the "*abstract*," but I cannot go with you in "*your measures*," for the reason, that among the *tories* are many members of "*my church*," and I fear a division among my *brethren* ; would not our venerated ancestors, in those times that "*tried men's souls* ;" yes, would not even the venerable father of our country *himself*, have quickly said to him, "henceforth, we must consider you our *enemy*, and the *enemy* of your country?"

Had our fathers, in those eventful times, acted thus ; had they suffered their *political* or *religious* creeds, or any *private* or *party* considerations whatever, to have prevented their *striking*, as one *man*, for liberty, and for their country ; instead of our being elevated, as now, among the independent nations of the earth, we should be stigmatized, with all our posterity, on the pages of history, with "eternal disgrace," and should also still be

suffering all the disabilities of rebel colonies of Great Britain. I mean not by this illustration, that we should take up arms in behalf of the oppressed in our country, but that we should immediately and decidedly take the side of the oppressed against the oppressor, morally and also politically, so far as we can act constitutionally.

This exclusive anxiety about the mere *external* peace, prosperity, and union of "*our church*," is often founded and carried on in the world in great injustice and "inhumanity to man;" and instead of its pleasing God, it is often what his righteous and benevolent soul abhorreth.

Said one recently, in whose religion, as well as patriotism, the country have as much confidence as in any other, while he was taking a review of all the past and present determined efforts of the northern part of all the national ecclesiastical bodies, still to combine their proslavery influence with the southern, to suppress free discussion, in order to sustain slavery, under the sanctionious plea of Union, at all hazards, in the church, (just as politicians talk of Union in the State,) "to ally a slaveholding church to one of unspotted garments, is to connect a loathsome carcass with living health and beauty; and however pure, said he, the northern church may *once* have been, it is not strange, that after having dragged '*the body of this death*' for the greater part of a century, she should be infected with the putridity of her load, and exhibit her present unsightly aspect."

Now, it does appear to me, that to an impartial eye, this short quotation on this subject speaks volumes, at which both the Christian, and the patriot, have great cause to tremble; for, where men destitute of the benevolence of the gospel, for their own selfish power and

aggrandizement, impiously attempt to wrest the church from the hands of its great and glorious head, they are often made to feel their utter impotency, by seeing great external *confusion* and desolation where, from the mere labour of their own "unclean hands," they looked for *union*, and found, when too late, that they had given the ark of the Lord an unhallowed touch. A mere *sectarian* spirit, regardless of justice and mercy, whenever and wherever found, is undoubtedly supremely selfish, anti-christian, inhuman, and "devilish;" and often steals the heart against every claim of humanity itself, and would *enslave*, instead of *benefiting* mankind. The priest and the Levite that passed by on the other side of the wounded man, were doubtless of this class.

With regard to the church, every true believer in its invisible spirituality, let it once more be said, will ever have this consolation, that although "*our church*" may be divided, that "*the church*" never will be, so long as its great Head is on high. "Let us do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before our God," and thereby prove ourselves the living branches of the living vine, and if "*our church*" should happen to be divided on *earth*, the living branches will still be united to the living vine, and will forever live, and flourish, and bloom, in immortal glory in the church triumphant *above*; for "who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"

SECTION XXXVII.

"I AM OPPOSED TO THE 'DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY, BECAUSE ABOLITIONISTS ARE IN NUMBER 'BUT A HANDFUL,' AND IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THEY SHOULD BE RIGHT, AND ALL THE REST OF THE WORLD WRONG."

I do not believe, says this wise objector, in any abstract truth, but hold that "democracy of numbers" must always be right. The constant and almost unanimous expression of all, in our own country, and in fact in the whole civilized world, most clearly contradicts these assertions.

It is true, to be sure, that the openly professed abolitionists, who have as yet organized themselves into societies, though a number of hundred thousands, are as yet comparatively few, but it should be remembered, that those few, who, out of love and sympathy for the poor slave, have been constrained to associate themselves together, and have dared to carry out their principles into practice, before a slaveholding nation, in the face of frowns, and *persecutions*, fire, and death, do but stand out before the world, virtually as the representatives of the real sentiments of millions; and who, in truth, speak the language of the heart of the great mass of mankind, whose names have not as yet been formally enrolled as abolitionists, or with any organized society for the promotion of freedom. Time often unfolds hidden mysteries.

Whoever has been dreaming, that all the abolition sentiments in the world are to be found among a few "*weak and blind fanatics*," (so called by some chivalrous pro-slavery men in our land,) who have associated themselves together under the name "Abolitionists," will doubtless ere long be awoke out of his reverie, by the louder, and still louder voice for freedom, when his delusive enchantment will be broken, and he will no longer "see men as trees walking." The truth is, that there are moral elements at work throughout the civilized world, which are yet far more to be felt in moulding the nations of the earth, and in shaping the destinies of men, of the present and after generations, than was all the influence, with his legions, which a Napoleon was ever able to command. The accomplishment, too, of these immense results to man will not linger, for when we take into consideration the vastly improved condition of the world, in relation to the surprising facilities of PRINTING, LOCOMOTION, &c., we see that *time and space are comparatively annihilated*; and that, what once was the work of centuries, is now but the business of years or days. The "march of mind is mighty, and cannot be staid." Even the clashing of arms, or the roar of cannon, would only arouse the slumbering, and awaken the dead to life. Wiser would it be for a despotic, but puny arm, to attempt to imprison the winds, or to chain the ocean's billows, than to try to repress, much longer, the hidden and half smothered, but irresistible energies of moral and intellectual power, for the ALMIGHTY is not the oppressor's God. Says the eloquent and powerful pen of CHANNING: "every principle of our government and religion condemns

slavery. The spirit of our age condemns it. The decree of the civilized world is gone out against it. England has abolished it. FRANCE and DENMARK meditate its abolition. The chain is falling from the serf in RUSSIA. In the whole circuit of civilized nations, with the single exception of the UNITED STATES, not a voice is lifted up in defence of slavery. All the great names in legislation and religion are against it. The most enduring reputations of our times have been won by resisting it. Recall the great men of this and the last generation, and be they philosophers, philanthropists, poets, economists, statesmen, jurists, all swell the reprobation of slavery. The leaders of opposing religious sects, Wesley, the patriarch of methodism, Edwards and Hopkins, pillars of Calvinism, *join as brothers in one solemn testimony against slavery.* And is this an age, in which a free and Christian people shall deliberately resolve to extend and perpetuate the evil? In so doing we cut ourselves off from the communion of the nations, — we sink below the civilization of our age, — we invite the scorn, indignation, and abhorrence of the world.

“I wish not to be understood as having the slightest doubt as to the approaching fall of the institution of slavery,” continues this able and justly distinguished writer in his late letter to Mr. CLAY, on the subject of the meditated annexation of Texas to the United States. “It may be prolonged,” says he, “to our reproach and great ultimate suffering, *but fall it will, and must.* The advocates of slavery must not imagine that to *carry a vote is to sustain their cause.* To succeed, they must roll back time to the dark ages; must send back Luther to the cell of his monastery; must extinguish the glow-

ing light of Christianity and moral science ; must blot out the declaration of American independence. The fall of slavery is as sure as the descent of your own OHIO. In the most enlightened countries of Europe a man would forfeit his place in society by vindicating slavery. The slaveholder must not imagine that he has nothing to do but to *fight with a few societies*. They are strong, only as representing the spirit of the Christian and civilized world. The world is against him, and the world's Maker. *Every day the sympathies of the world are forsaking him. Can he hope to sustain slavery against the moral feeling, — the solemn sentence of the human race ?*"

This sounds very different from Mr. Calhoun's doctrine, that all who oppose slavery are "*weak-minded fanatics*," and that "SLAVERY is the best BASIS of FREEDOM."

We often hear much said about *ultraism* and *ultraists*, but I am compelled to come to the conclusion, that there are some, at least, who, with a kind of apishness, often make use of these and similar terms reproachfully, who, at the same time, hardly know what they would themselves mean by them ; for who does not know, that a multitude of names grace the annals of history, as pioneers in great reforms, whose possessors, by having their attention especially called to a given subject, and divesting themselves of the dark and cumbrous prejudices of the age in which they lived, with almost prophetic vision have penetrated centuries ahead of their cotemporaries.

Many such men, it is true, through ignorance, prejudice, and malignity, have been persecuted ; and many such have thus been tyrannically put to death for opin-

ion's sake ; but whose very DEATH blessed the world as much or more than their long and valuable lives could have done ! !

We all know that the term *ultra* simply means *beyond*, or *farther on* ; but we see how prone we all are, probably from a secret, and perhaps almost unconscious spirit of detraction, to brand our fellow-men with the ignominious epithet, " knave or fool," who dare entertain and express opinions beyond our own limited, prejudiced, and *purblind* conceptions. Is it wisdom to close our eyes to an approaching evil, until it fall upon us, to our utter destruction ?

SECTION XXXVIII.

**"I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY,
BECAUSE THE SUBJECT IS ALREADY PERFECTLY
WELL UNDERSTOOD BY THE PEOPLE."**

I HAVE noticed the great variety of objections to discussing slavery, which *have* been, and are *yet*, to considerable extent, *prevalent*; that when they were analyzed, and held up to view, it might be seen how very little they amounted to.

It is the most agreeable to us all, and is certainly no more than candour, to put the most charitable construction upon the *conduct* and the *motives* of our fellow-men. I would, therefore, fain suppose that this objector, knowing *little or nothing* on the subject of slavery himself, presumes there is nothing to be known of it by others. If so, he has but to go just one step farther, and his conclusion would be, that there is no slavery in the world; that it is all a chimera. He would by this time, I should suppose, be fairly qualified to be a disciple of Mr. CALHOUN, and could begin to prate the doctrine that "SLAVERY is the *best* BASIS of freedom." The only alternative conclusion at which we should be forced to arrive, (if this objector is *himself* well informed on the whole subject of slavery,) would be, by his *holding out* an idea, that the public already

understood all about it, — that he meant to deceive the public.

It is true, whenever *demagogues* wish to accomplish their own ends, they have generally attempted to flatter the vanity of "*the dear people*" into a kind of intoxication, with the idea that they already knew all things. As the fox addressed the crow, "O how delightfully you can sing!" with his mouth wide open, ready to catch the cheese, when it fell from her beak, as she commenced her sweet notes.

This is the fact, it is believed, that a *virtuous* people will always act right, when they know what that right is. But how can it be expected, that we should know what *right* and *truth* are, without much care and investigation? LIBERTY is always purchased at too dear a rate, and is also worth too much to be long retained, without great vigilance and effort.

No judicious parent would ever say to his child, "My child, you are altogether *brighter* than the children of my *neighbours*;" but rather would he say, "if you make *greater efforts*, you will be likely to excel them in *well-doing*." Most of my readers would probably agree with me, that conceit and self-complacency, to which human nature is so prone, render us all more or less inclined to *think* that we fully understand many things, of which we have as yet comparatively hardly learned the alphabet. However humiliating this may be to our pride and self-esteem, I nevertheless believe it to be no less the fact.

It would be very natural to appeal for proof of this to the universal experience of mankind. For an example ;

where can the man be found, who is now fully converted to the doctrine of immediate emancipation, of all who are in bonds, without crime, who is not ready to say, that he has been so converted *by irresistible arguments and facts*, developed to his mind even at the time he was still complimenting himself, that as for him, he had little then to learn on the subject of slavery?

In showing the mutability of human opinions, prejudices and taste, a very able writer well remarks, that "what is deemed *visionary* to-day, may be *debatable* to-morrow, *sensible* the next day, *unanswerable* the day after, and a *truism* at last."

If these things be so, would it not become those, who yet harbour so much of this "blindfold prejudice" against the anti-slavery cause and its friends, at once to take the bandage from their eyes, and to pause and reflect? Are they afraid if they do this, that they shall be converted by *truth*, ere they are aware of it, to an unpopular cause, and that they cannot float so easily upon the popular current? Oh, "*expediency*," thou ruiner of individuals, and of nations! how long wilt thou be permitted to hold thy usurped dominion over the world to the exclusion of *right*, the only just and lawful sovereign of every people? Though the latter has many professed friends, she has but few that follow her through evil as well as through good report. When I come in contact with one, who says, "the people know all about slavery;" "we want none of your abolition lecturers to enlighten us;" and adds, "the north have had nothing to do with slavery; it is all very *unfortunately* entailed upon us by our fathers," and it is incendiary for us to say ought against it. I just ask my friend if he will be so good as to in-

form me, how stands the northern congressional vote on the admission of *seven slave states*, since the organization of the federal compact, and long since most of our fathers passed off the stage? This is a test question on this point, the conclusion of which must be unavoidable; for who cannot see if they will, that actions or votes speak much louder than mere professions, and in a language which cannot be misinterpreted? This is as true of nations as of individuals.

SECTION XXXIX.

“ I AM AS MUCH OPPOSED TO SLAVERY AS ANY ONE CAN BE, AND THINK IT IS A MOST DREADFUL EVIL ; BUT I AM OPPOSED TO HAVING IT DISCUSSED, BECAUSE I AM A COLONIZATIONIST.”

INDEED !!! this most enchanting word colonization, contains the real genuine patent salve for wounded consciences on account of slavery. I would recommend to any one who is desirous to find a complete antidote for his misgivings of conscience on the subject of slavery, to employ some one *immediately* who has a *clear and beautiful enunciation*, just to pronounce the word “ *colonization* ” a few times in his hearing, and all will be quiet. The peculiarly soothing qualities in this word, “ *colonization*,” if rightly pronounced, according to the most approved rules of elocution, has been often found to be the very “ balm of Gilead ” for the lacerations of conscience, which that *awful* and most dangerous and “ denunciatory ” word “ *abolition* ” has made !! But, to the point. Suppose you *do* call yourself a colonizationist, what then ? Are you not willing still to hear facts and arguments on the subject of slavery ? Suppose they should not all appear to agree with your own preconceived notions. *Abolitionists* are not only *willing*, but even *anxious* to hear all that the *colonizationists* can say on the whole subject of slavery, in all its bearings.

The writer was himself, as he before suggested, a

member of a Colonization Society, and he then verily believed that every colonizationist in the land was hostile to slavery, and was doing, and still ready to do, every thing reasonably within his power to abolish it. But he is now well satisfied that this was *then* and is yet far otherwise—I have frequently heard it remarked, that in almost every instance where JUDGE JAY'S INQUIRY into the object and tendency of the colonization scheme, had been carefully read, the reader became well satisfied that the society was in truth a *pro-slavery* one. I believe, very many men at the north, with benevolent intentions, and *some at the south*, have been induced to think that the colonization *scheme* was the very plan to *abolish* slavery in the United States.

Gerrit Smith, Esq. who is now President of the New York State Abolition Society, with many others, undoubtedly once thought so. Had I space enough here, I think I could show, to every impartial and unprejudiced mind, most conclusively, from the principles and proceedings of the Colonization Society itself, that it is virtually, wholly in the slaveholding interest, and not *anti-slavery* at all. All this may be, and still but few of its members be fully conscious of it.

It is certainly a most remarkable fact, which every intelligent abolitionist is now fully prepared to demonstrate, that while "colonization" for years has been one thing at the north, it has been another and a vastly different thing at the south, which the very few quotations out of many which might be adduced may serve in some degree to show to the unbiassed and discerning mind. The leading colonization men, (who are mostly slaveholders,) so far from *expecting*, or even *desiring* that this

society should ever do away slavery, their prominent doctrine is, (though not in so many words, for it would alarm the world,) that it rivets the chains tighter and tighter upon their slaves.

Great numbers of good men, in this society, as in political parties, it is fully believed, know little of what their leaders are doing. A superficial view of the scheme looks plausible on paper, for it has the semblance of benevolence and humanity; but it has most clearly stolen the very "*livery of heaven to serve the devil in.*" In reality—

"It is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen."

Whoever may be disinclined to believe all this, by impartially reading the late edition of Judge Jay's admirable work on colonization, I think can no longer doubt the correctness of the opinion, that the present colonization crusade, is the doing of evil, and only evil continually, with but the *pretension* that *good* may come. All this may be and still be true, that there are some benevolent hearts interested in this object.

I am fully aware that these are grave and startling charges to *some*. But let us listen a moment to their *leading organs*, and then judge for ourselves. In their 2d report, page 9th, they declare that they confidently believe that the "colonization" of the free people of colour, will render the slave who remains in America, more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and consequently more *useful to his master*. Again: "By removing the most *fruitful sources of discontent*, (*the free blacks*) from among our *slaves*, we should render

them more industrious and attentive to *our commands*." Address of Putnam, (Georgia) Colonization Society. "What greater pledge can we give for the *moderation*, and *safety* of our measures, than our *own interests*, as slaveholders, and the ties that bind us to the *slaveholding community* to which we belong?" Speech of Mr. Key, Vice-President, 11th report, page 14th. "The injury that they (the free blacks) do to the slaveholder's *property* by their influence upon his servants, would, if valued, amount to more than sufficient to convey them *from us*." Address of Rev. C. Young to the Colonization Society, African Repository, 111, 67.

"To remove these persons from among us will increase the *usefulness*, and improve the moral character of those who remain in servitude, and with whose labours the country is unable to dispense." Address to a North Carolina Colonization Society, African Repository, 111, 67.

"The tendency of the scheme, and one of its objects, is to secure *slaveholders* and the whole southern country against *certain evil consequences* growing out of the *present threefold mixture* of our population." Address to a Virginia Col. Society, African Repository, 4, 274.

"By removing these people (*the free blacks*) we rid ourselves of a large party, who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any *mischievous design* they may conceive." Address to a Colonization Society in Virginia, African Repository, 1, 167.

"Are they (the free blacks) *vipers sucking our blood*? We will *hurl* them from us!" Address to Lynchburgh Colonization Society, African Repository 3, 201.

"We might well think such a sentiment of hurling people out of the country headlong, might very fitly emanate from Lynchburgh, if the character of its inhabitants corresponds with the name." Again: By thus *repressing* the rapid increase of blacks, the white population would be able to *reach* and soon *overtop* them. "The consequence would be *security*." — African Repository, 4, 344.

The New-Orleans (a colonization) Journal, in speaking of hurling the free blacks out of the country, says, "So far from having a dangerous tendency, when properly considered, it will be viewed as an *additional guard* to our "*peculiar species of property*."

And again — which is the last I will cite here among very many such "beatiful extracts," that might be quoted : —

"The removal of every free black in America, would be productive of nothing but *safety* to the *slaveholder*." — African Repository, 3d, 207.

At a late meeting of COLONIZATION slaveholders in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, the notable HENRY A. WISE being present, was called on by acclamation for a speech, to which he arose and said: "He was once a member of a colonization society; that he strongly approved of its *original* design; but that when an effort was made in the *Parent* society in WASHINGTON by Mr. GERRET SMITH, Dr. BRECKENRIDGE, and others, to *pervert* it from its *original* object, [which was, to hurl *free* blacks out of the country to make the poor *slaves* the more secure in their chains,] he had *withdrawn*, and watched the institution with a *jealous* eye. He feared it might be made an *engine* of the ABOLI-

TIONISTS; and if it should be, it would prove a *fearful one to the south.*"

Poor men! Their circumstances are indeed unenviable. I know of no other course for them, if they are set on rushing headlong to ruin, instead of obeying God and opening their mouths wide for the oppressed and the dumb, but to implicitly obey the dictation of the Congress of these United States, and at once *padlock* their mouths on the *whole subject of slavery*, as a subject not even to be named. Indeed, it never ought to be named under these heavens as having a place in any nook or corner upon this footstool.

Mr. Wise also said, that "he did not *recommend* the *Colonization Society* until he had *ascertained* to his *satisfaction*, at the *head-quarters* in *Washington*, that it might be *safely* depended on to *strengthen that interest*," (slaveholding.)

The editor of the *Richmond Whig* said, "there was fear that the *mass* of mankind would not *discriminate* between *colonization* and *emancipation*; that the *common* mind, in becoming a convert to the *first*, might consider itself bound to advocate the *latter*; and (continues this slaveholding editor,) believing as *we do* that *slavery*, as it *exists* in the *southern States*, is an institution *good in itself*, yielding to the *blacks* the *greatest amount of happiness* of which they are by *nature* susceptible, and *developing the noblest faculties of the whites*, *we look with a jealous eye to whatever may have a tendency to impair it*; and we are the more suspicious because of the crusade now preached against us by the *whole civilized world.*"

If making men tyrannical and despotic in their prin-

ciples and their feelings can be called *developing their noblest faculties*, then indeed this slaveholding editor is right. That this is the legitimate tendency of one class of men having another class entirely under their control, needs no argument whatever to prove. The history of the world and every day's observation more than confirm it.

Whoever will take the trouble to read the history of the manners and customs of slaveholding countries, cannot doubt that slaveholding tends directly to make men petty despots. Indeed, every man knows, from his own common sense, that all this is but human nature.

Now, allowing all the philanthropy of individual colonizationists that may be claimed, what can the plain English of the universally approved doctrine of the Colonization Society, to wholly *disapprove of emancipation* in any case *whatever* except it be *coupled* with an assent to *immediate expatriation*, amount to but this : that notwithstanding this nation has *kidnapped* the poor African, dragged him into this land, and cruelly compelled him, by *taskmasters* and *chains*, to make it his *adopted country*, where are now their *graves of many generations* ; and notwithstanding this *wronged, oppressed, suffering, and enslaved* people have by us been *compelled* to unrequited labour and toil for two hundred years to convert this once wilderness land into a *paradise* for us, we now behold them in numbers so great, though in *chains*, we begin to tremble for our own *safety*, and, from the same *selfish and wicked policy* that first brought them into *bondage*, we say to them, " we have *enslaved you, sold you, and worked you*, without

pay, as long as we think it *safe* for ourselves ; and now, if you will *forever leave the country, naked and destitute*, and never even ask us for what we *honestly owe you*, we will most *benevolently and graciously condescend to extend our kind and merciful hand to take off your fetters, handcuffs, and chains.*" Be the same more or less, this is but the *simple unvarnished interpretation* of that odious and *very wicked* emancipation policy connected with the condition of an assent to immediate expatriation.

But, says one, they ought to think themselves well dealt by if they can even obtain their liberty in this way. What would you think of a man, if he should seriously say to you that you ought to pay him \$250, because he had a good chance to rob you of \$500, and did not do it!!! Or, were you a foreigner, or a native-born citizen in this country, what would you think of an American, who honestly owed you a given sum, but would pay you no part of it only on the painful condition that you would forever leave the country? Even this kind of benevolence of colonization is but rare. Its usual and almost universal benevolence is to hurl the free coloured people, who have obtained their freedom by hard labour, out of the country as soon as possible, and almost in any manner, before *they excite human property to assert its humanity*, and burst its chains.

Even were it *just and wise* in this nation to drive so large a portion of its physical power from it as the two and a half millions of the labouring population, we can at once judge of its utter impracticability, when we find that the great national Colonization Society, during all its efforts for twenty years, has only taken away the increase for a few weeks. But did the South once

dream that all her labouring strength was to be severed from her, she would oppose it more than she now does abolition itself; for she well may know, it would *depopulate* the entire slave States.

Two opinions, the belief of which have for a long time kept a large portion of the north in some patience with the slavery of this nation, are, in my opinion, without a particle of foundation. *One* is, that the slaveholders would very soon emancipate their slaves if let entirely alone, — and that this, probably, was the better way. The *other* is, a kind of unaccountable *timidity* or moral *cowardice*, (originating in ignorance of the true nature of the case,) that if we said a word against slavery, the slaveholders would instantly be thrown into a fit of insanity and desperation to “*dissolve the Union*,” and at once surrender themselves into the hands of their own SLAVES, to be dealt with without mercy.

It is thought that enough has previously been said in regard to all such opinions, by the aid of our own common sense, with their specified qualifications, to show their utter futility.

While I cannot for a moment doubt, that there are colonizationists who are men of great benevolence, and who *think* they see, by an “*eye of faith*,” all Africa christianized through the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, and the last yoke cast off from the last of her unhappy sons exiled in America; still, that the great body of the southern colonizationists, who are mostly large slaveholders and traffickers in human flesh, can have any such *expectation*, or even *desire*, appears to me must require a very great amount of *credulity* to credit, when *such* is their language in *one* breath; but in the very next, their language is, either that “*slavery is the best*

basis of freedom," or a "*divine institution;*" or, that "there will be no *safety for our property (slaves)* until we hurl these wretched free blacks out of the country;" and in the *third* breath, that the "south can *never dispense with AFRICAN LABOUR,*" which appears to be an almost universal admission among slaveholders and colonizationists; while at the same instant they declare that they are in *favour* of EMANCIPATION no *faster* than the *emancipated* shall be *colonized*. Now, I have to acknowledge, that it is entirely beyond my humble capacity to make all this jargon hang together.

Mr. CALHOUN, claiming to be the great organ and dictator of slaveholding politicians, with all their northern abettors, (and, as one might well think, from his late unprecedented influence in the Senate of the United States on this subject, very justly so claiming,) lately made the grave and important declaration in that Senate, that the "*different colours in this country were inseparably united beyond the possibility of a separation.*"

Whoever cares enough about the welfare of his country, or his *free*, or his enslaved countrymen, to take the trouble to look into the subject, by reading the SLAVE LAWS, (which are at once the most *authentic*, as well as the most *prolific* sources of correct information on the whole subject of slavery,) will soon find, to his own astonishment, that when slaveholders become impatient with the *tardy movements* of the colonization wheels, in rolling *American citizens* (free coloured people) out of their country by a more *circuitous* route, they uncere- moniously, in their "vengeful impatience," just "cut across lots," and actually *banish* them by *law* from their

respective States, in *open* and *high-handed* violation of the *constitution* of the *United States*.

A law to this effect has existed some time in *Maryland*. Louisiana also passed the same law at the late session of her legislature. But no matter, thinks one, they are nothing but "niggers." I told you so, says another, "*you abolition agitators have done all this.*"

And here I cannot withhold my sober and unimpassioned sentiment, that the whole spirit of American slavery and oppression is nothing less than the very spirit of the abodes of the "*blackness of darkness*;" and that, unless speedily overcome by the blessing of Heaven, through the renovating power of light and truth, it will finally, not only banish or enslave the FREE, regardless of colour, but imprison freedom herself. Its motto appears to be, "*peaceably* if we *can*, but *forcibly* if we *must*." This is precisely the same "expedient" and wicked policy pursued towards our Indians, which makes even military men revolt at it.*

But I would fain trust that the *American people* are no longer to be *duped* by this plausible, but deceptive *scheme* of *slaveholding colonization*; for it is now distinctly seen, that so far from its even *pointing* towards the emancipation of the two and a half millions of our oppressed and enslaved countrymen, it would rather *enslave* or *banish* those who are yet, at least, *nominally* free, that those who are *already* in *actual* bondage may thereby remain the more secure in their chains, none being left, in mercy, to file them off.

* General Jeesup's late letter to the Secretary of War, recommending a discontinuance of the Florida war.

Upon this same principle, the *dark anti-liberty spirit* would fain banish or enslave abolitionists, or any other class of American citizens, "*bleached or unbleached,*" who dare speak like MEN about *slavery and liberty*.

Now, in view of all these incongruous and totally contradictory statements from *the slaveholding or colonization interest*, in addition to the important fact, that among the hosts of PRESIDENTS and VICE-PRESIDENTS of this famous and mysterious society, (most of whose officers have been large slaveholders and slave traffickers,) not one, it is learned, has ever been known to have emancipated a single slave for colonization, or for any other purpose, who must not believe, whatever may be the *object* of this society, that its *tendency*, at least, must be any thing but *benevolent* or anti-slavery.

Does it look much like the benevolence of the "*gospel of peace and good-will to man,*" to "*hurl from us such a lot of wretched nuisances,*" (as the slaveholders call them,) from such *motives*, to christianize all Africa, as they tell us at the north, where they are, many of them, again soon kidnapped, and brought back and sold over and over again into slavery?

For a nation, well known to all Africa to be carrying on *land kidnapping* and pirating to the dreadful extent that this guilty nation is, to send its agents as Christian missionaries to the African chieftains, to persuade them to cease their bloody conflicts, — to kidnap their fellow-men to sell to *water pirates*, — is about as consistent, and will probably have about the same *effect* (unless *miraculously* overruled against all *means*, adapted to an *end*,) as it would have had before the commencement of the temperance reform, for all the *venders and drinkers*

of *ardent spirits*, while yet *themselves selling and drinking*, to attempt to *rebuke* the distillers or the manufacturers of intoxicating drinks.

I have sold out and drank out the load of alcohol, Mr. Distiller, that I purchased of you last week, and have now come for another load : — but, pray, why do you continue this unhallowed and destructive business to the best interests of your fellow-men ?

But, replies the distiller, why do you continue to drink and to sell this destructive article ?

O, replies the vender, after it is once manufactured, if I don't sell it and drink it, somebody else will !!!

So reasons the trafficker in human flesh. I know, says he, that the business of slaveholding and slave trafficking is like *adding fuel to fire*, in keeping up the cruel and bloody strife for captives for the "*Christian's gold*" among the long distressed and unhappy sons of Africa. But, exclaims the *pious* slavetrader, we slaveholders, slave traffickers, and colonizationists, have faith to believe that we shall soon christianize all Africa ; and, in the mean time, if we don't sell these Africans and all their posterity into endless slavery, somebody else will, and perhaps, too, they will sell them to "*infidel* masters." Could not this pharisaical veil be very conveniently thrown over any other crime of the deepest die, from the same artful and plausible pretext ? A great villain, once confessed on the scaffold that he had robbed and murdered a man, because he overheard some other villains plotting how to do it ; and he spoke of it, too, by way of palliation of his crime.

But time and space suggest to me, that I should refer any one for further information on this part of the subject

to JUDGE JAY'S INQUIRY, (late edition,) and to Judge Stroud's Sketch of the Slave Laws. The information to be derived from these sources, (to those who may not already have had the opportunity of reading these books,) will be invaluable. They disclose many deeply interesting and astounding facts, in relation to the whole subject of slavery and colonization, which every American citizen, and every lover of liberty, ought to understand, whether he be a Christian, a philanthropist, or a patriot.

I will here give it as my own humble but *deliberate* opinion, that so long as the slave traffic is carried on in the world, colonizing coloured persons to Africa can be productive of no good whatever ; for the very obvious reason that wicked inducements are constantly held out, by all slaveholding countries, to the hosts of barbarous chieftains of that unhappy country, to carry on their bloody conquests, to obtain captives to sell to "*Christians*," or, as some of these chieftains say, to white "*devils*," or "*Christian dogs !!!*"

SECTION XL.

**“I AM OPPOSED TO THE DISCUSSION OF SLAVERY,
AND TO EMANCIPATION, BECAUSE THE SLAVES
ARE BETTER OFF THAN THE POOR LABOURING
WHITE PEOPLE ARE AT THE NORTH.”**

As I fear that I have already overtaxed the patience of my reader, I shall leave this objection, together with the whole subject, as I have been enabled to present it, to the impartial and candid judgement of all, simply by quoting a few of the southern laws, both in relation to slaves, and to the coloured people called free, as growing out of the purely despotic nature of slavery itself, believing that people of judgement always prefer to have their understandings addressed with facts and arguments, to barely having their imaginations entertained, and their sympathies excited, by mere declamation. Whoever could be eloquent in painting the scenery of the moon, doubtless could make a fine colonization speech.

The only apology I expect to find in the mind of my reader, for saying as much as I have on this subject, is, both the importance, and also the very nature itself of the *great theme of human liberty*.

To the objection of a slaveholder, to having any reference whatever made to the condition of slaves in the

slave States, the Hon. Wm. Slade recently replied on the floor of Congress, that he quoted the slave-laws as he would a dictionary, to show what slavery is. In this, he was undoubtedly correct; for the executed laws among all people, most conclusively demonstrate their actual moral, social, and political condition.

In this, there can be no sophistry, no *declamation*, no *exaggeration*, and no "*denunciation*." It stands up and speaks for itself, in language that cannot be gainsayed, in argument that cannot be controverted; and with a power that cannot be resisted, except by some overpowering and sordid interests.

Had it been any part of the design of this work to have drawn out an array of instances of the unutterable barbarities and cruelties, as the legitimate results of the bloody and atrocious system of cruel man holding his fellow-man as a mere chattel,—I should have drawn largely from the narratives of such men as *Charles Ball* and *James Williams*, who had themselves long been slaves, but were at last mercifully delivered "so as by fire," from the jaws of the monster. The latter of these our countrymen, closes his most thrilling narrative in the following language:—

"Oh, if the miserable men and women, now toiling on the plantations of Alabama, could know that thousands in the free States are praying and striving for their deliverance, how would the glad tidings be whispered from cabin to cabin, and how would the slave mother, as she watches over her infant, bless God on her knees, for the hope that this child of her day of sorrow might never realize, in stripes and toil, and grief unspeakable, what it is to be a slave!"

My references to the slave laws in this place must necessarily be very limited ; but I would respectfully, but most earnestly, request every man who would love and promote rational freedom, and who desires to know what slavery really is, if he has not already done so, attentively to read Judge Stroud's, and other recent valuable works on the bloody and most revolting slave code ; for it is only through laws and corresponding practices, (from "*stern necessity*," as the slaveholders say,) *growing out of slavery*, that all the untold and unutterable horrors of slavery can be seen in their true light. Did I say in their true light !!!

But even then, they can be but faintly conceived of, but by him, who is himself under the chains and the lash, and has the cruel iron of slavery sunk deep into his own soul.

We sometimes hear a kind of *brutish* exclamation from some persons of very gross conceptions of human liberty ; how foolish that "*black fellow*" must have been to run away from so "*good a master* !" !

Look at the poor Indian who has always been driven from his own lands, and from his native home, by the point of the white man's bayonet, and still is driven from place to place, and suffers and endures every possible privation to enjoy his native freedom ! !

And what freeman, be he ever so poor and degraded, would voluntarily sell himself, and his posterity forever after him, to the best man on the earth ? There is no instance on record of a human being voluntarily selling himself past hope of redemption, under any circumstances whatever. The truth is, that MAN, by his CREATOR, was made as free as the fish that glides in the

water; the bird that flits in the air, or the beast that roams the forest; and he remained so, until fallen man's inhumanity to man, with "fiend ambition," forged his cruel chains. The height and perfection of all temporal human freedom, under a civil government, is *strict obedience to just and equal laws founded on the moral code given to us by our great Lawgiver.*

Every human being feels the inestimable blessing of this freedom, when he is conscious of living under such a government.

But, by intuition, quick to discern his equal rights, whenever he sees and feels the heavy hand of oppression upon him, he readily and very justly regards himself as robbed of *that* by his fellow, which his CREATOR designed him to enjoy. Is there an Indian who has been driven from his dear native home, (where are still the graves of his ancestors,) by "Christians," into the far western wilds, and is now surveying, as it were upon the rocky mountains, his last leap into the Pacific Ocean, and who has himself suffered and endured so much hardships and privation to maintain his native freedom, but would at *once* be an independent and a whole souled ABOLITIONIST?

A pure, a noble, and an untrammelled mind, is always in favour of universal freedom and equal rights, for *all*, and forever; but *party*, or prejudice, through "*interest vile*," is the bane of life.

I was much gratified by the very sensible and noble reply of an intelligent lady, to my question, whether she was an abolitionist? "To be sure, I am; I think too much of liberty myself, to wish to have innocent people enslaved for a moment," was her ready answer.

I will just say here, that as the masters want their labour constantly, it is very seldom that they imprison their slaves. The slave would, doubtless, leap for joy, for the preference of being imprisoned and working ten hours a day with the vilest criminals, and the greatest villains in the land, to toiling sixteen hours a day for nothing, in the burning sugar, cotton, and rice fields, with the frequent cruel whippings from his merciless driver, and his quart of corn a day!!! But the treatment our guilty States' prison convicts receive, is altogether too good, says this oppressive nation, for two and a half millions of men, women, and children, who are charged with no offence against God or man, but their being found with a complexion of a sable hue, the work of their MAKER. The slaveholders' usual mode of punishing their slaves, in order to keep them delving on at their weary and never ending toils, is by whipping in different degrees of severity, and cropping off *one*, and sometimes both ears, close to their head.

This last act of barbarism is said, however, not to be practised so much as formerly, as it was found to *injure the sale of their property*.

I suppose the ear that was recently sent for an insult to Mr. Tappan, of New-York, was lawfully taken (according to their barbarous and piratical slave laws,) from the head of some poor slave, for some comparatively trifling offence, that would hardly be noticed in a white person. I will here give the law in regard to cropping off ears.

If a slave or Indian shall take away, or let loose any boat or canoe, from a landing, or any other place where the owner may have made the same fast; for the first offence, he shall receive 39 lashes on the bare

back; and for the second offence, shall forfeit and have cut off from his head, *one ear*. 2d Brev. Dig. 288.

So as to the first offence in North Carolina and Tennessee. Haywood's Manual, 78 — act of 1741, chap. 13.

There is a section of law in Louisiana, which shows the haughty and tyrannical spirit which slavery begets, even towards free persons unable to resist the tyrannical power of slaveholders. It is this.

Free people of colour ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to think themselves *equal to the whites*, but on the contrary, they ought to yield to them on every occasion, and never speak or answer them but with great respect, under the penalty of *imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence!!* — 1st Martin's Digest, 840, 42.

This law is only an unguarded and frank avowal of the slaveholder's real feelings towards even free persons, who will not succumb to his despotic dictation. They not only feel so, but they act it out, by making just such laws over them as they please, without their knowledge or consent, when they have the power.

In South Carolina, if a free negro entertains a runaway slave, he forfeits ten pounds; and if unable to pay the fine, which must be the case ninety-nine times in a hundred, he is to be sold as a slave for life. In 1827, a free woman and her three children, were thus sold, for harbouring two little slave *children over night!*

In Mississippi, every free negro or mulatto, not being able to prove himself free, (which, when he is free, is often entirely out of his power,) is sold as a slave for life, and his posterity forever after him. How shocking

to every sense of right, that innocent children, with their posterity after them forever, should be thus cursed, either for a pretended, or a real fault of their parents. This provision extends to most of the slave States, and is now in full operation in the District of Columbia, to the great shame of our guilty partisan nation. The slaveholders have many other ways, which they call legal, of dragging free people of colour and their posterity after them, into endless and hopeless slavery, besides downright kidnapping, which is often resorted to by gangs of beings, who make slave-hunting with their guns and slave dogs, a regular livelihood, for the sake of the high rewards bid up for them by the master ; and sometimes the rewards are bid up, saying, "dead or alive." Had it been the design of this work, I could here describe numerous instances of this kind, almost too shocking to relate, as well as most inhuman and barbarous treatment by the masters and drivers. But I must forbear.

The unrighteous and oppressive laws against free people of colour, are enacted, both from the slaveholder's desire to increase the number of their slaves by reducing them back to slavery, and also, from their general hatred and suspicion of all free people of colour, as well as free whites, who will not tamely submit to have their mouths padlocked on the great and vital subject of human liberty.

Slaveholders entertain the same hatred and suspicions against, and the same desire to subject to their own despotic control, all freemen, without regard to colour, who dare say a word against slavery ; or rather, who are not sworn advocates for slavery itself ; or, as they more smoothly say, their "peculiar or delicate institutions."

Hence we must see the utter impracticability of freemen and slaveholders ever dwelling together in unity in the same republic. Indeed they should not so dwell, for it would only be the peace of death, and not that "peace of God which passeth all understanding."

This republic might stand forever, if the whole fabric was based on universal freedom and equal rights, and practically and scrupulously carried out ; for all the people, as one man, would then sustain it. Upon these principles, by the blessing of Heaven, we might become a great, an honourable, and a distinguished nation ; the centre of attraction for the world. But as it now is, a mighty struggle will forever be kept up between the north and the south, until it shall be determined whether all the labouring population of the whole country shall be slaves, or all freemen. Whenever I have beheld furious rioters, (the servile tools of despots behind the scene,) I have thought to myself, poor men ! did you but know that you are forging yokes for your own necks, and chains for your own limbs, you would quickly desist. But I fear sometimes that they will not know this until too late.

This struggle between liberty and slavery will not the less exist, because many may not be so fully aware of it, until too late, when all will be over. This is no fiction, but is the language of "truth and soberness," and is what some of us and our children will undoubtedly realize, either for "weal or for wo." The time is already rapidly approaching, when but two distinct voices will be heard on the subject of slavery, in our whole country, either "I am for slavery, or I am for freedom." All idle apologies and vain pretexts will be blown to the four winds. At present, many avoid

the test by resorting to heartless sophistry, and ingenious subterfuge for hiding places; but there is one who knows we cannot serve two masters, and he will soon call us out, as by the mouth of a Joshua, and say to us in a voice which cannot be resisted, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; if the Lord be God, serve him, and if Baal, serve him."

One important fact I cannot forbear here to notice: it shows clearly the iron rod of terror constantly held over the poor trembling slave. It is this: that all white persons, of every age and character, in reality are constituted by law, *absolute despots over the slave*. With very few exceptions, the penal laws to which slaves are subject, relate not to the violation of any moral or divine laws whatever. Positive and arbitrary institutions are their only sanction. Thus, if a slave is found beyond the limits of the town in which he lives, or of the plantation where he is usually employed, without the company of a white person, or without the written permission of his master, employer, &c. any person may apprehend him, and punish him with whipping on the bare back, not exceeding twenty lashes. Brevard's Digest, 231: Prince's Digest, 427. In Mississippi, similar punishment by direction of a justice of the peace; Mississippi Rev. Code, 371. So also in Virginia and Kentucky, at the discretion of the justice, both as to the *imposition* of the punishment and the *number of stripes*. 1. Virginia, Rev. Code, 422; 2d Litt. and Swi. Dig. 1150; and see 2 Missouri Laws, 741-2; *ibid.* 614. For travelling by himself from his master's land to any other place, unless by the most usual and accustomed road, the owner of the land on which said slave may be found, is authorized to inflict forty lashes upon him. Haywood's Man-

ual, 518, (act of 1729.) For travelling in the night without a pass, forty lashes : *ibid.* Any person may lawfully kill a slave who has been outlawed for running away, and lurking in swamps, &c. Haywood's Manual, 524 : (act of 1753.) And if a slave be out of the house, or off the plantation of his master, without some white person in company, and shall refuse to submit to an examination of any white person, such white person may apprehend and *whip* him ; and if he shall assault and strike said white person, he may be lawfully killed. 2 Brevard's Digest, 231 : Prince's Digest, 447.

A slave endeavouring to entice another slave to run away, if provisions, &c. be prepared for the purpose of aiding in such running away, shall be punished with death : 2d Brevard's Digest, 223 and 244 : and the slave who shall aid and abet the slave so endeavouring to entice another slave to run away, shall also suffer death !! *ibid.* In Maryland, 39 stripes on the naked back, is the penalty for harbouring a slave one hour !! Act of 1748, chap. 19, 4. If a slave shall presume to strike any white person, such slave, upon trial and conviction, before the justice or justices, according to the discretion of this act, shall, for the first offence, suffer such punishment as the said justice or justices shall, in his or their discretion, think fit, not extending to life or limb ; for the second offence he must suffer death !!! To show the unrighteous and unequal treatment of slaves and white persons, in Virginia alone, there are in their slave code 71 offences for which the slaves suffer death, none of which are capital offences in whites. In the city of Savannah, any person who teaches a free negro to read or write incurs a penalty of thirty dollars. Of course a father cannot instruct his

own children. In Maryland, a justice of the peace may order a free negro's ears to be cut off for striking a white person. In Kentucky, for the same offence, he is to receive thirty lashes, "well laid on," which is the language of the law. In Georgia, a white man is liable to a fine of 500 dollars for teaching a free negro to read or write. If any free negro teach another, he is to be fined and whipped at the discretion of the court. Should a free negro presume to preach to, or exhort his companions, he may be seized without warrant, and whipped 39 lashes, and the same number of lashes may be applied to each one of his congregation by any person, without trial. No wonder that such laws make Lynchites of people without regard to colour. Who must not see that Lynchism, despotism, and "mobism" are the legitimate offsprings of slavery in this nation? Can it be that the people will laugh at these dreadful realities until they see their folly in mourning for their calamity?

In Virginia, should free negroes, or their children assemble at a school to learn reading or writing, any justice of the peace may dismiss the same with twenty lashes on the back of each pupil. By a late law of Maryland, a free coloured person coming into the state, is liable to a fine of fifty dollars for every week he remains in it. If he cannot pay the fine, he is to be sold a slave for life, and his children forever after him.

In Louisiana, the penalty of instructing a free black in a Sunday school, is, for the first offence, \$500; for the second offence, death!!!

In North Carolina, if a slave run away, by the master going through the *idle and mock* ceremony to make affidavit of it before a justice, the justice then issues a pro-

clamation, ordering the slave (who cannot read) immediately back to his master ; and if the poor slave does not *learn how to read it, and obey the summons forthwith, any person may kill him.*

And also, when the owner of the slave has just taken this "*legal step*," he can bid up a public reward for him, saying, "*dead or alive*," "so that he can see him."

I will here cite a very few specimens, from public documents, going to show what slavery really is, that the reader may judge whether he would like it better than freedom, with even "*starvation at his door, and poverty in rags.*"

To the Editors of the Constitutionalist.

Aiken, S. C., Dec. 20, 1836.

I have just returned from an inquest I held over the dead body of a negro man, a runaway, that was shot near the South Edisto, in this district, (Barnwell,) on Saturday morning last. He came to his death by his own recklessness. He refused to be taken alive ; and said, that other attempts to take him had been made, and he was determined that he would not be taken. When taken he was nearly naked—had a large dirk or knife and a heavy club. He was at first (when those who were in pursuit of him found it absolutely necessary,) shot at with small shot, with the intention of merely crippling him. He was shot at several times, and at last was so disabled as to be compelled to surrender. He kept in the run of a creek in a very dense swamp all the time that the neighbours were in pursuit of him. As soon as the negro was taken, the best medical aid was procured, but he died on the same

evening. One of the witnesses at the inquisition stated that the negro *boy* said that he was from Mississippi, and belonged to so many persons, he did not know who his master was ; but again he said, his master's name was *Brown*. He said his own name was Sam ; and when asked by another witness who his master was, he muttered something like Augusta or Augustine. The *boy* was apparently above 35 or 40 years of age, about six feet high, slightly yellow in the face, very long beard or whiskers, and very stout built, and a stern countenance ; and appeared to have been a runaway a long time.

WILLIAM H. PRITCHARD,

Coroner, (ex officio,) Barnwell Dist., S. C.

☞ The *Mississippi* and other papers will please copy the above. — *Georgia Constitutionalist*.

\$100 REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, living on Herring Bay, Ann Arundel County, Md., on Saturday, 28th January, negro man Elijah, who calls himself Elijah Cook ; is about 21 years of age, well made, of a very dark complexion ; has an impediment in his speech, and a scar on his left cheek bone, apparently occasioned by a shot.

J. SCRIVENER.

Anapolis (Md.) Rep., Feb. 1837.

\$40 REWARD.—Ran away from my residence near Mobile, two negro men, Isaac and Tim. Isaac is from 25 to 30 years old, dark complexion, scar on the right side of the head, and also one on the right side of the body, occasioned by *buck shot*. Tim is 22 years old, dark complexion, scar on the right cheek, as also an-

other on the back of the neck. Captains and owners of steamboats, vessels, and water crafts of every description, are cautioned against taking them on board, under the penalty of the law; and all other persons against harbouring or in any manner favouring the escape of said negroes, under like penalty.

Mobile, Sept. 1.

SARAH WALSH.

Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Sept. 29, 1837.

\$200 REWARD. — Ran away from the subscriber, about three years ago, a certain negro man named Ben, (commonly known by the name of Ben Fox.) He is about five feet five or six inches high, chunky made, yellow complexion, and has but one eye. Also, one other negro, by the name of Rigdon, who ran away on the 5th of this month. He is stout made, tall, and very black, with large lips.

I will give the reward of one hundred dollars for each of the above negroes, to be delivered to me, or confined in the jail of Lenoir or Jones county, or *for the killing of them so that I can see them.* Masters of vessels and all others are cautioned against harbouring, employing, or carrying them away, under the penalty of the law.

W. D. COBB.

Lenoir county, N. C., Nov. 12, 1836.

Instances of what any one whose heart had not become callous, and “seared, as it were, with a hot iron,” in the pestiferous moral atmosphere of slavery, or in some way by *reaping the spoils of slavery*, would deem the most tyrannical and barbarous punishments for comparatively trifling offences, might be quoted from official

documents, almost without number!! But our minds sicken and revolt at such examples of "*man's inhumanity to man, which make countless thousands mourn.*"

I deem it my painful duty, however, to cite a single case or two here, out of volumes of similar and of still more aggravated ones, which will serve to give some idea of American slavery to such as may have any desire to know what it really is, with all the endless train of miseries and woes which it entails upon our fellow-creatures, by reducing them to a level with brutes and with goods, wares, and merchandise, and thereby rendering them liable, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, to be lawfully seized and sold as such at public sale, regardless of age, condition, or sex. It will, of course, be borne in mind, that the southern definition of a slave is a human being, (if a man,) who can neither own himself, his wife, his children, nor any species of property whatever, and is subject to the will of his master, like the ox, and to all lawful claims of debt in the same sense; and what is worse, and more cruelly *tyrannical* than all, is made amenable to, and punished for the violation of all the laws of the land, which he is allowed no part in making, and of which, as the slaveholders say, he is necessarily and arbitrarily kept entirely ignorant of.

In Louisiana, moreover, slaveholders once carried on the high-handed process of violating all the rights of man, by first *uncreating* the slave as a *man*, then recreating him a chattel, then uncreating him a chattel, and recreating him *real estate*, by passing a law prohibiting the landholder ever separating the poor bound slave from the patch of the "*mother earth*" of his owner.—(MARTIN'S *Digest*, 610.)

Virginia also made slaves real estate, by a law passed 1705. (Beverley's *Hist. of Virginia*, p. 98.) The precise date of the repeal of this slaveholding enactment is not at hand. It is supposed to have been, however, about the time "the old dominion" became the chief "slave-breeder" for the cotton-growing and sugar-planting country, and made young men and women, "from fifteen to twenty-five," the main staple production of the state.

So we see that, through avarice and cupidity, MONSTER-MEN, according to circumstances and power, can *convert* and *reconvert* his fellow-man into any shape he will; and, to cap the climax of his profanation, look up with sanctimonious eyes, and call for the benedictions of Heaven to sanctify the deed!!!

The merciful man has ever been regarded as merciful even to his beast. Indeed, there are thousands of men, except in cases of emergency, who will never suffer their horses or their oxen to be driven by any hand but their own, or by some one immediately in their employ. But what is the practice of slaveholders with their human cattle? A large proportion of their plantations is rented out to their merciless "soul drivers," and stocked with human stock; and these taskmasters treat these wretched men and women doomed to slavery upon the same avaricious policy that some men would so many oxen or horses under the same irresponsible circumstances,—that is, overwork them and underfeed them, to make all out of them possible.

This is slavery!! It is unnecessary to enter into the detailed cruel consequences of such a bloody despotic system over man. It is true it might fill volumes.

Some years ago a young man emigrated from New-Hampshire to the state of Louisiana, where, after he became settled, he formed, with a quarteroon slave of his own, one of those contubernial connexions so common in the far south as to carry with them but little disrepute. Two daughters were the fruit of their connexion. They were not grown up, when the mother died a slave. The father was careful to bestow on them a good, if not an accomplished education. Through mere neglect, as in the case of their mother, he did not emancipate them according to the forms required by law. The eldest had arrived at the age of sixteen, and the other at fourteen. At this time the father died, leaving his two handsome, well-educated, and tenderly reared daughters with a good estate, as it was supposed, for their comfortable support. A brother residing in New-Hampshire, on hearing of his death, went on to Louisiana to attend to the adjustment of the estate and to the interest of his nieces. He entered on the administration; and, to his great surprise, found, after he had made considerable progress in the payment of the claims, that the estate would, in all likelihood, prove insolvent. He continued, however, to discharge them as they were presented till all the resources of the estate were exhausted, except his two nieces, who by the laws of Louisiana were slaves and assets in his hands. So monstrous a thing as selling them had never once entered his mind. He was, however, reminded of this remaining resource by some of the creditors whose balances were undischarged. He replied, in amazement, "They are my brother's children!!" "That is nothing to us," they rejoined; "they are the property

of the estate, liable for the payment of our claims—are likely—will sell well, and must be sold, unless from your private means you can advance the sums they would bring.” This he was unable to do—avarice called for the law—and his deceased brother’s children were set up and sold at public auction before his own eyes.

This seems to us, as it truly is, horrible!—but is it any more so, than what slavery cruelly compels the dearest friends every day to witness? Let a northern state pass an act that the corpses of all deceased persons, without distinction of sex, should be holden in law and liable to be sold for all claims of debt against the individuals while living, or against their connexions either living or deceased, the whole nation, slaveholders and all, would at once be shocked and horrified. But would this be doing greater violence to our natures, or to the rights of humanity, thus to arrest the repose of the dead, than by all the tyrannical and profane laws of slaveholding, for the same cause to disturb the peace, and invade all the inalienable rights and liberties of the living, by selling them into a dreaded, and a dreadful bondage for ever?

“In the legislature of South Carolina, on the 14th December, 1837, a petition was received from James Patterson, (a free coloured man,) praying for liberty to manumit his wife and children, then his slaves.”

Now, if this legislature, as is their general rule, would not grant the prayer of this husband and father but on the painful condition that the wife and children consent to be colonized immediately to Africa, the only alternative left the poor man, if he desired to retain his

own wife and children, would be to keep out of debt and keep well insured, lest some rapacious slaveholding creditor sell them away from him with his cattle and his swine. O humanity! how art thou fallen from thy sphere a "little lower than that of the angels."

Finally, there is no way in which we can see and feel the terrible tyranny and cruelty of slavery like carefully reading all the slave laws, and fully conceiving their operation in their tremendous and crushing power upon human liberty, and human happiness.

The following extract from a late address of Alvan Stewart, Esq. before the Vermont Anti-slavery Society, though found in some of the public journals, like some others which I have quoted, is nevertheless worthy a place even on the pages of history:—

"The Florida war, which has already cost this nation \$12,000,000, and has spilt so much human blood, caused so much human suffering, and wasted so much human life, had its origin in slavery. A female slave, at some former time, escaped from Georgia into Florida, and was married by an Indian. In process of time the daughter of this pair became the wife of OSEOLA. The proprietor of the fugitive, after her death, ascertained that the wife of Oseola was her daughter; in person, or by proxy, seized her in an unguarded moment, dragged her into Georgia, and made her a slave. The great and greatly injured son of the forest resolved on revenge, and pursuing the kidnapper, availed himself of an opportunity to shoot him through the heart."

Thus we have the origin of a long and bloody war, commenced and carried on principally at the instigation of slaveholding politicians, to drive the natives from their own lands to make room for their slavery.

In relation to this war, Major General Jessup, the commanding officer of the army, in a letter to the Secretary of War, Feb. 11, 1838, uses the following language: — “My decided opinion is, that unless immediate emigration be abandoned, the war will *continue* for years to come; and at constantly accumulating expense.” This officer further says, in the same official communication, “we have committed the error of attempting to remove them (the Indians) when their lands were not required for agricultural purposes; when they were not *in the way* of the *white inhabitants*; and when the greater portion of their country was an unexplored wilderness, of the interior of which we were as ignorant as of the interior of China.” We find in this authentic document also the following: — “I do not consider the country south of Chickasa Hatchee worth the *medicines* we shall expend in driving the Indians from it.”

It will be remembered, that Mr. Calhoun and his associates, in the late Senate of the United States, claimed that the 15,000 slaves in the territory of Florida were held constitutionally, consequently all that slaveholders ask of the people of this Union to carry on this unholy crusade, is enough of their treasures and their blood, in some way to exterminate the Florida Indians, either by massacring them, or by driving them from their native lands, to make their country a slaveholding country, — to all intents and purposes whatsoever. So we find the sum of all the southern Indian wars, in which this whole guilty nation have ever been engaged, is to drive off the poor Indians by the point of the bayonet, and bring on the poor Africans loaded with chains.

Here we see that this whole nation have ever been

compelled, by slaveholding power and for slaveholding purposes, at a great sacrifice of life and treasure, to carry on these bloody and wicked wars of slaveholding "expediency."

In a late proclamation of General Scott to the Cherokees, who is now commissioned either to exterminate them, or immediately compel them to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, and forever abandon their own country and the graves of their fathers, we find this most extraordinary language to overawe the weaker party into compliance. "Thousands and thousands are approaching from every quarter to render *resistance or escape impossible.*"

These dreadfully wicked Indian wars, which rend the very Heavens for vengeance upon this nation, now reeking with so much innocent blood, will yet be found to be, beginning, middle, and end, altogether and exclusively a slaveholding policy to remove every possible obstruction to slaveholding despotism throughout the dark dominions of slavery.

Who that believes that justice has not utterly fled both from Heaven and from earth, must not feel, that unless we pause in our Heaven-daring and high-handed career, all this will, ere long, prove to this nation an "expediency," with a most dreadful and "untold vengeance."

Add to all this enormous wickedness, the daily practices at the seat of our national government, (boastfully styled the freest on earth,) how does our whole nation appear, crimsoned over with the innocent blood of our countrymen? Creatures bearing the external forms of men, making it their daily business to seize, without

ceremony, all coloured persons not known as residents there, upon the mere pretence that they are *runaway slaves*, and thrust them into prisons built with the people's money for entirely different purposes, and there confine them often for many months, waiting for an owner to apply, while these innocent men and women were asserting their freedom, (though often not able to prove it,) and begging for deliverance. After thus advertising and confining them often from four to eight months, no owners have appeared — what then? Set free? Yes; from the prison, but sold into slavery, with their posterity after them forever, for their jail fees. More than 450, from the keepers documents, have thus been kidnapped and confined for sale in five years.

There is a systematic atrocity in this nefarious business, which far exceeds in wickedness the more summary and still bolder outrages of the most bloody barbarians that have ever disgraced the human race. Add to this the *gentlemen kidnappers*, who shamelessly parade the streets of the capital of the reputed freest people in the world, and often talk largely of liberty and of our free institutions in the halls of Congress, while they are filling the Washington public journals with advertisements similar to the one below. And who that loves his country or his kind, must not desire to be innocent of all participation whatever in deeds so direful?

“CASH FOR 400 NEGROES,

“including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having likely servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher

prices in cash than any other purchaser, who is now or who may hereafter come into this market.

“FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD.”

I will give but this single specimen of *gentlemanly* kidnapping, and, — I had it upon the end of my pen to say *piracy*, — but recollecting that hitherto the wisdom of the Congress of the United States has discovered more moral turpitude in water than in land traffic in human flesh, I forbore. While Congress has made a law, declaring the foreign slave traffic piracy and worthy of death, the same Congress, to encourage the same traffic at home, grants license for it as they would to traffic in ardent spirits, or in any other commodity of earth.

I will just say in short, that the slaveholder's slave legislation, is, to legislate all possible rights from the poor slave into his own tyrannical hands. Even the very life of the slave, is virtually at the despotic will of his master, for the slaveholder's guard law is, (which of course he made to shield himself, not the slave,) that no slave or coloured person, can in any possible case, be a witness against a white person. Says Judge Stroud, in his invaluable extracts from the slave laws, “It is an inflexible and universal rule of slave law, that the testimony of a coloured person, whether *bond or free*, cannot be received against a white person! !* ”

It should also be known to every American citizen, and to every lover of freedom and equal rights in the land, that American tyrants, and American despots,

* Stroud, p. 27.

while they are constantly talking loudly and boastfully of "*human liberties*," of "*equal rights*," of "*free institutions*," of the "*freest nation on earth*," &c. &c. will not allow two and a half millions of their incessant and hard toiling countrymen to be a party before a judicial tribunal, even at the capital of this so styled "*freest government on earth*," in any species of action against any person, no matter how atrocious the injury received!!* This is American slavery; and, American freemen, how would you like it? Says H. B. Stanton, Esq., in that blaze of light in his inimitable remarks before the Committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, "*The slave statute uncreates the slave as a man, and recreates him a chattel.*"

A case never has been known, of the execution of a white person for the killing or murdering of a slave, though numerous instances of shocking murder are well known to have been perpetrated. In view of the necessity of all these inhuman laws, to reduce man to such vile and unequal subjection to his fellow, we can hardly avoid making this single reflection, "that the brute toils through the day submissive to man, as he was designed to be; lies down at night, and his lawful owner finds him in the morning, without his having thrown about him the tripple guard of arms, of dogs, and cruel

* For a full exhibition of the mountain of oppression that crushes so many of our suffering countrymen, see Stroud, p. 25, and onward. Indeed the coloured people called free, hold their mock freedom by a very loose and uncertain tenure throughout the entire slave States, for they can all be banished from the slave States by their despotic laws, and their property confiscated, upon any pretended suspicion of them on the part of the whites.

and rigorous laws ; but not so with man, for he has an immortal and restless spirit within him, bearing the image of its Maker, which, however crushed by all the oppression of man, cannot be entirely obliterated ; but, as the poet well says —

“ The soul uneasy and confined from home,
Rests, and expatiates in a life to come.”

Slaveholders themselves cannot but be conscious of the great guilt and crime of the awful and fearful violence they are doing to the eternal principles enstamped by the Deity upon immortal man. On this dread subject, so nearly allied to the very throne of the Almighty, one of Virginia's noblest sons in her representative body in 1829, amid the very chains that bind the soul in the dark bondage of slavery, was constrained on a certain occasion, in a tone of the most impassioned and thrilling eloquence, to hold forth the following language : — “ Sir,” said he, addressing himself to the speaker, “ you may take a slave and place him where you please ; oppress him as you will ; you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night ; you may yoke him like the ox to the furrow, which works but to live, and lives but to work ; you may dry up to the uttermost the fountain of his feelings, the springs of his thought ; finally, you may put him under any process that shall tend to crush and debase him as a human being, and yet after all you can do, the *idea* that he is born to be free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality. It is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of the Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man.”

In glancing at the bloody fields of American slavery ; of all on earth the most dreadful, strewed over with handcuffs, whips, and chains, for so large a portion of our innocent fellow countrymen, we can hardly avoid also holding up this fallen world before our affected vision with all its oppressions, its miseries, and its woes, the sinful result of man's inhumanity to man, and in the well known language of the philanthropic poet exclaim —

“ My ear is pained—

My soul is sick, with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled.
There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart,
It does not feel for man. The nat'ral bond
Of brotherhood is sever'd as the flax
That falls asunder at the touch of fire.
He finds his fellow guilty of a skin
Not coloured like his own ; *and having power*
T' enforce the wrong, for such a worthy cause,
Dooms him, and devotes him as his lawful prey,
And chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that mercy, with a bleeding heart,
Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast.”

Such sentiments, though familiar to every school boy, as “ household words,” are worthy to be kept in remembrance, for they will forever do honour to human nature. It was the breathing forth of this spirit by the English writers which has at length melted off the chains of Briton's slaves. American slaveholders full well know this, and fear and tremble before it, while they are still so deluded as actually to be engaged in making every violent and unconstitutional effort to shut out from their borders all the literature of the world, because it is interwoven with these manly sentiments, and imbued with this heavenly spirit.

We should all naturally think, that when they once know what slavery is, every non-slaveholding, disinterested, and unsophisticated person in the world, would at once be a "*whole souled abolitionist*."

But when we consider how much the public mind has been corrupted by the smooth deceptive doctrine of "expediency," now but another name for selfishness or dishonesty; and when we consider also the chains, and the trammels of party political interests, between the north and the south, the wicked deep-rooted prejudice against colour, (or more strictly caste,) commercial interests, with all their flattering prospects of gain, and a powerful sympathy between northern and southern ecclesiastical bodies of the same denomination, and many other similar interests which are all to be broken through, in order to testify plainly against slavery as we ought; we do not so much wonder, that the wicked, selfish, and timorous heart, unaided by divine influence, shrinks back upon itself, from so high, so holy, so self-denying and responsible a duty, as that of openly and fearlessly *advocating the right* of the immediate emancipation of two and a half millions of our countrymen from their heavy and miserable yoke of bondage. But in the sight of Him, the "habitations of whose throne are justice and judgement;" and in view of our whole country, and posterity, will all these be sufficient reasons for us to turn away our eyes, and our thoughts, from the suffering and the dumb, who cannot speak for himself, and leave him to perish in his dreadful, physical, mental, and moral bondage forever?

Let our naked consciences answer this before our final Judge. And now, in conclusion of these remarks, the

reader will permit me to say, that I have watched the signs of the times somewhat, and that I feel impressed with the important fact, that our beloved country is big with coming events. With a territory already, (without Texas,) more than equal to the vast empire of China, and capable, in its highest state of cultivation, of sustaining the immense population of four or five hundred millions of souls, and yet, no room for the freedom of two and a half millions of our enslaved fellow-countrymen; and instead of breaking his bonds, we are sinking the bloody iron of oppression deeper and still deeper into his soul. Not content with our present vast dominions, but grasping at still more, to lengthen and strengthen the chains of the bondman, but not to make him free, but with a two-fold tendency, to enslave forever both blacks and whites. Though I fear that I have already too much trespassed on the time and patience of my reader, yet, I have said but little, to what might and should be said on this momentous subject, both for the temporate and eternal well-being of the born and the unborn millions of the greatly oppressed bondman in our land, for the preservation and perpetuity of our own liberties, and for the good of our whole country, and the world.

And now, in view of our high and solemn responsibilities to ourselves, to posterity, and above all, to the coming day of final retribution, near at hand to us all, will we act the part of the "good Samaritan," to pour wine and oil into the grievous wounds of the suffering and the dumb, or will we "*pass by on the other side*?"

Whether the Almighty in his holy and righteous anger, for our crying sins, will destroy us as a nation, or in mercy save us, we know not. If he do not destroy us

speedily, it will surely be on account of his infinite mercy and forbearance. I believe, with all our efforts in behalf of the oppressed, and of a world lying in wickedness, our unceasing and most earnest prayer should be, that in the midst of so greatly deserved wrath and judgements on account of our Heaven-daring sins as a people, a JUSTLY OFFENDED GOD would still forbear, and stay his uplifted hand, and bring us all to speedy and unfeigned repentance, that *we shall put far from us all* our grievous oppressions and abominations as a nation, that he may still remember mercy.